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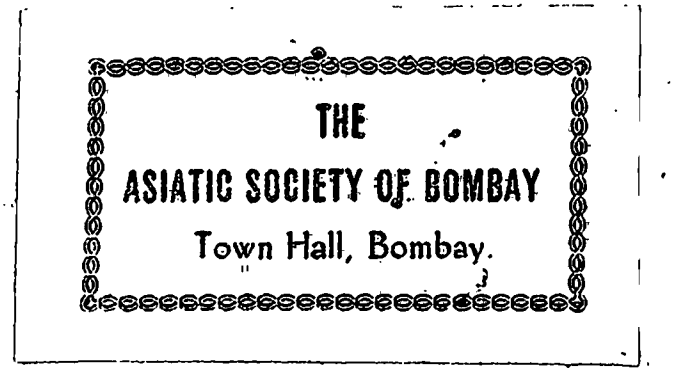

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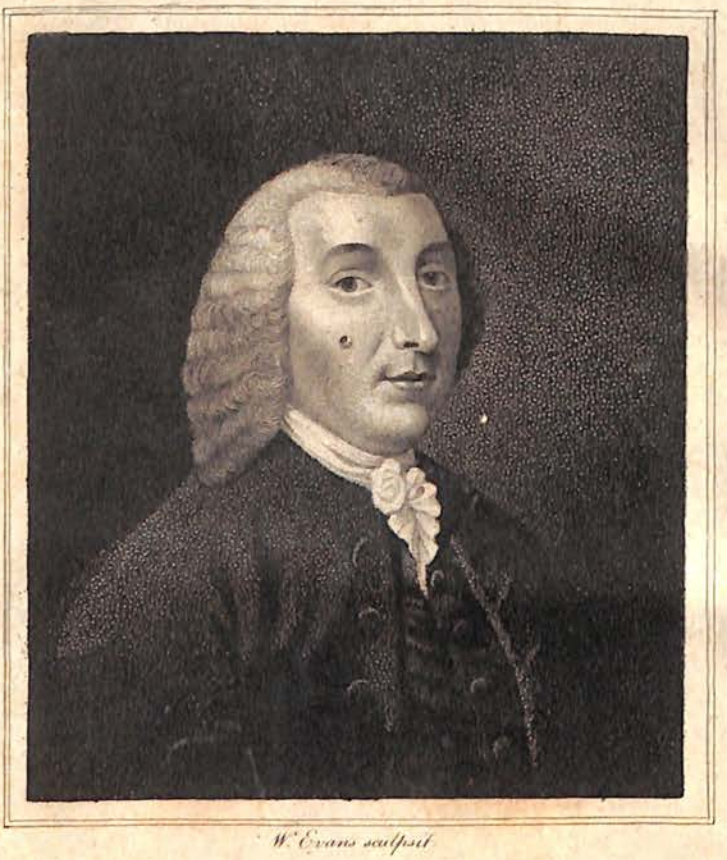

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T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

32113

A NEW EDITION,

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE purchasers of D. Hume's History of England having been long desirous of a continuation; the proprietor of Dr. Smollett's History (being in possession of a copy with the author's last corrections) has been induced to reprint that work from the Revolution, where Hume's History ends, to the death of George II. in the year 1760.

To make this work more acceptable, the Sections, and other divisions, are given in a manner correspondent with those observed by Hume; so that any gentleman possessed of the latter, may take up his History at the Revolution, where Hume breaks off, and find a regular connection in this complete History given by Smollett.

In the latter part only of this work has the present Editor found it necessary to make any alterations. The war before the last had its source in America, and thereby drew forth our settlements there into consequence. This, with the loss of most of those settlements since to Great-Britain, had brought with it so many changes, that what was found politicks and good sense then, is now totally deranged: even

even facts themselves are become changed, and the very state of the two countries has undergone a metamorphosis which was impossible to be foreseen by the shrewdest politician. To assist the views of so eminent a writer as Smollett, as well as to gratify the expectations of the judicious reader, a few, very few, alterations have been made on those heads. To have proceeded farther would have been a kind of sacrilege, and no less a fraud upon the original author, than upon the publick.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE REVOLUTION,

TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

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§ I.

§ I. THE constitution of England had now assumed a new aspect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right was at length renounced by a free Parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents; and William III. ascended the throne in consequence of an express capitulation with the people. Yet, on this occasion, the zeal of the Parliament towards their deliverer seems to have overshot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges: or at least they neglected the fairest opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. He was enabled to influence elections, and oppress corporations. He possessed the right of choosing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the state, and of the household, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia: so that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights, and principle of resistance, on which the Revolution was founded. In a word, the settlement was finished with some precipitation, before the plan had been properly digested and matured; and this will be the case in every establishment formed upon a sudden emergency in the face of opposition. It was observed, that the King, who was made by the people, had it in his power

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to rule without them; to govern *jure divino*, though he was created *jure humano*; and that, though the change proceeded from a republican spirit, the settlement was built upon Tory maxims; for the execution of his government continued still independent of his commission, while his own person remained sacred and inviolable. The Prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common sense of danger: but this tie was no sooner broken than they flew asunder, and each resumed its original bias. Their mutual jealousy and rancour revived, and was heated by dispute into intemperate zeal and enthusiasm. Those who at first acted from principles of patriotism were insensibly warmed into partisans; and King William soon found himself at the head of a faction. As he had been bred a Calvinist, and always expressed an abhorrence of spiritual persecution, the Presbyterians, and other Protestant dissenters, considered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his interests with the most zealous fervour and assiduity. For the same reasons, the friends of the church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence, first in opposing his elevation to the throne, and afterwards in thwarting his measures. Their party was espoused by all the friends of the lineal succession; by the Roman Catholics; by those who were personally attached to the late King; and by such as were disgusted by the conduct and personal deportment of William since his arrival in England. They observed, That, contrary to his declaration, he had plainly aspired to the crown; and treated his father-in-law with insolence and rigour: That his army contained a number of foreign papists, almost equal to that of the English Roman Catholics whom James had employed: That the reports so industriously circulated about the birth of the Prince of Wales, the treaty with France for enslaving England, and the murder of the Earl of Essex,

Essex, reports countenanced by the Prince of Orange, now appeared to be without foundation: That the Dutch troops remained in London, while the English forces were distributed in remote quarters: That the Prince declared the first should be kept about his person, and the latter sent to Ireland: That the two houses, out of complaisance to William, had denied their late sovereign the justice of being heard in his own defence; and, that the Dutch had lately interfered with the trade of London, which was already sensibly diminished. These were the sources of discontent, swelled up by the resentment of some noblemen, and other individuals, disappointed in their hopes of profit and preferment. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ II. William began his reign with a proclamation, for confirming all protestants in the offices which they enjoyed on the first day of December: then he chose the members of his council, who were generally staunch to his interest, except the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Nottingham*, and these were admitted in complaisance to the church-party, which it was not thought adviseable to provoke. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were appointed Secretaries of State: the privy seal was bestowed upon the Marquis of Halifax: the Earl of Danby was created President of the Council. These two noblemen enjoyed a good share of the King's confidence, and Nottingham was considerable, as head of the church-party: but the chief favourite was Bentinck, first commoner on the list of privy-counsellors, as well as groom of the stole and privy purse. D'Auverquerque was made master of the Somers's Collection. Reresby. Burnet.

* The council consisted of the Prince of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquisses of Halifax and Winchester, the Earls of Danby, Lindsey, Devonshire, Dorset, Middlesex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, and Nottingham; the Viscounts Fauconberg, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the Lords Wharton, Montagu, Delamere, Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powle, Mr. Russel, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Boscawen.

horse,

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horse, Zuylestein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: the Treasury, Admiralty, and Chancery were put in commission; twelve able judges were chosen*; and the diocese of Salisbury being vacated by the death of Dr. Ward, the King, of his own free motion, filled it with Burnet, who had been a zealous stickler for his interest; and, in a particular manner instrumental in effecting the Revolution. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to consecrate this ecclesiastic, though the reasons of his refusal are not specified; but, being afraid of incurring the penalties of a premunire, he granted a commission to the Bishop of London, and three other suffragans, to perform that ceremony. Burnet was a prelate of some parts, and great industry; moderate in his notions of church-discipline, inquisitive, meddling, vain, and credulous. In consequence of having incurred the displeasure of the late King, he had retired to the continent, and fixed his residence in Holland, where he was naturalized, and attached himself to the interest of the Prince of Orange, who consulted him about the affairs of England. He assisted in drawing up the Prince's manifesto, and wrote some other papers and pamphlets in defence of his design. He was demanded of the States, by the English Ambassador, as a British fugitive outlawed by King James, and excepted in the act of indemnity: nevertheless, he came over with William, in quality of his chaplain; and, by his intrigues, contributed in some measure to the success of that expedition. The principal individuals that composed this ministry have been characterised in the history of the preceding reigns. We have had occasion to mention the fine talents,

* Sir John Holt was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Henry Pollexfen of the Common Pleas; the Earl of Devonshire was made Lord Steward of the Household, and the Earl of Dorset Lord Chamberlain.—Ralph.

the

the vivacity, the flexibility of Halifax: the plausibility, the enterprising genius, the obstinacy of Danby; the pompous eloquence, the warmth, and ostentation of Nottingham; the probity and popularity of Shrewsbury. Godolphin, now brought into the treasury, was modest, silent, sagacious, and upright. Mordaunt, appointed first commissioner of that board, and afterwards created Earl of Monmouth, was open, generous, and a republican in his principles. Delamere, chancellor of the exchequer, promoted in the sequel to the rank of Earl of Warrington, was close and mercenary. Obsequiousness, fidelity, and attachment to his Master, composed the character of Bentinck, whom the King raised to the dignity of Earl of Portland. The English favourite, Sidney, was a man of wit and pleasure, possessed of the most engaging talents for conversation and private friendship, but rendered unfit for public business by indolence and inattention. He was ennobled, and afterwards created Earl of Romney; a title which he enjoyed with several successive posts of profit and importance. The stream of honour and preferment ran strong in favour of the Whigs, and this appearance of partiality confirmed the suspicion and resentment of the opposite party.

§ III. The first resolution taken in the new council was to convert the Convention into a Parliament, that the new settlement might be strengthened by a legal sanction, which was now supposed to be wanting, as the assembly had not been convoked by the King's writ of summons. The experiment of a new election was deemed too hazardous; therefore, the council determined that the King should, by virtue of his own authority, change the convention into a Parliament, by going to the House of Peers with the usual state of a sovereign, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both Houses.

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Houses. This expedient was accordingly practised*. He assured them he should never take any step that would diminish the good opinion they had conceived of

* This expedient was attended with an unsurmountable absurdity. If the majority of the Convention could not grant a legal sanction to the establishment they had made, they could never invest the Prince of Orange with a just right to ascend the throne; for they could not give what they had no right to bestow; and if he ascended the throne without a just title, he could have no right to sanctify that assembly to which he owed his elevation. When the people are obliged, by tyranny, or other accidents, to have recourse to the first principles of society, namely, their own preservation, in electing a new sovereign, it will deserve consideration, whether that choice is to be effected by the majority of a Parliament which has been dissolved, indeed by any Parliament whatsoever, or by the body of the nation, assembled in communities, corporations, by tribes, or centuries, to signify their assent or dissent with respect to the person proposed as their sovereign. This kind of election might be attended with great inconvenience and difficulty, but these cannot possibly be avoided when the constitution is dissolved by setting aside the lineal succession to the throne. The constitution of England is founded on a Parliament consisting of King, Lords, and Commons: but when there is no longer a King, the Parliament is defective, and the constitution impaired; the members of the Lower House are the representatives of the people, expressly chosen to maintain the constitution in church and state, and sworn to support the rights of the crown, as well as the liberties of the nation; but though they are elected to maintain, they have no power to alter the constitution. When the King forfeits the allegiance of his subjects, and it becomes necessary to dethrone him, the power of so doing cannot possibly reside in the representatives who are chosen, under certain limitations, for the purposes of a legislature which no longer exists; their power is of course at an end, and they are reduced to a level with other individuals that constitute the community. The right of altering the constitution, therefore, or of deviating from the established practice of inheritance in regard to the succession of the crown, is inherent in the body of the people, and every individual has an equal right to his share in the general determination, whether his opinion be signified *viva voce*, or by a representative whom he appoints and instructs for the purpose. It may be suggested, that the Prince of Orange was raised to the throne without any convulsion, or any such difficulties and inconveniences as we have affirmed to be the necessary consequences of a measure of that nature. To this remark we answer, that since the Revolution, these kingdoms have been divided and harassed by violent and implacable factions, that eagerly seek the destruction of each other: that they have been exposed to plots, conspiracies, insurrections, civil wars, and successive rebellions, which have not been defeated and quelled without vast effusion of blood, infinite mischief, calamity, and expence to the nation; that they are still subjected to all those alarms and dangers

of his integrity. He told them that Holland was in such a situation as required their immediate attention and assistance; that the posture of affairs at home likewise demanded their serious consideration; that a good settlement was necessary, not only for the establishment of domestic peace, but also for the support of the protestant interest abroad: that the affairs of Ireland were too critically situated to admit of the least delay in their deliberations: he, therefore, begged they would be speedy and effectual in concerting such measures as should be judged indispensably necessary for the welfare of the nation. The Commons returning to their House, immediately passed a vote of thanks to his Majesty, and made an order that his speech should be taken into consideration. After the throne had been declared vacant by a small majority of the peers, those who opposed that measure had gradually withdrawn themselves from the House, so that very few remained but such as were devoted to the new monarch. These, therefore, brought in a bill for preventing all disputes concerning the present parliament. In the mean time, Mr. Hambden, in the lower House, put the question, Whether a King elected by the

dangers which are engendered by a disputed title to the throne, and the efforts of an artful pretender; that they are necessarily wedded to the affairs of the continent, and their interests sacrificed to foreign connections, from which they can never be disengaged. Perhaps all these calamities might have been prevented by the interposition of the Prince of Orange. King James, without forfeiting the crown, might have been laid under such restrictions that it would not have been in his power to tyrannize over his subjects either in spirituals or temporals: The power of the militia might have been vested in the two Houses of Parliament, as well as the nomination of persons to fill the great offices of the church and state, and superintend the economy of the administration, in the application of the publick money: a law might have been passed for annual parliaments, and the King might have been deprived of his power to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. Had these measures been taken, the King must have been ultimately disabled from employing other force or corruption in the prosecution of arbitrary designs, and the people must have been fairly represented in a rotation of parliaments, whose power and influence would have been but of one year's duration.

Lords

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Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons assembled at Westminster, coming to and consulting with the said Lords and Commons, did not make as complete a Parliament, and legislative power and authority, as if the said King should cause new elections to be made by writ? Many members affirmed that the King's writ was as necessary as his presence to the being of a legal parliament, and, as the Convention was defective in this particular, it could not be vested with a parliamentary authority by any management whatsoever. The Whigs replied, That the essence of a Parliament consisted in the meeting and co-operation of the King, Lords, and Commons; and that it was not material whether they were convoked by writ or by letter: they proved this assertion by examples deduced from the History of England: they observed, that a new election would be attended with great trouble, expence, and loss of time; and that such delay might prove fatal to the protestant interest in Ireland, as well as to the Allies on the continent. In the midst of this debate, the bill was brought down from the Lords, and being read, a committee was appointed to make some amendments. These were no sooner made than the Commons sent it back to the Upper House, and it immediately received the royal assent. By this act the Lords and Commons, assembled at Westminster, were declared the two Houses of Parliament to all intents and purposes: it likewise ordained, That the present act, and all other acts to which the royal assent should be given before the next prorogation, should be understood and adjudged in law to begin on the thirteenth day of February: That the members, instead of the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy, should take the new oath incorporated in this act, under the ancient penalty; and, That the present Parliament should be dissolved in the usual manner. Immediately after this transaction, a warm debate arose in the House of Commons about the revenue,

revenue, which the courtiers alledged had devolved with the crown upon William, at least during the life of James; for which term the greater part of it had been granted. The members in the opposition affirmed, that these grants were vacated with the throne; and at length it was voted, That the revenue had expired. Then a motion was made, That a revenue should be settled on the King and Queen; and the House resolved it should be taken into consideration. While they deliberated on this affair, they received a message from his Majesty, importing that the late King had set sail from Brest with an armament to invade Ireland. They forthwith resolved to assist his Majesty with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly assessments; and both Houses waited on the King to signify this resolution. But this unanimity did not take place till several Lords spiritual as well as temporal had, rather than take their oaths, absented themselves from Parliament. The nonjuring prelates were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Turner, Bishop of Ely, Lake, of Chichester, Ken, of Bath and Wells, White, of Peterborough, Lloyd, of Norwich, Thomas, of Worcester, and Frampton, of Gloucester. The temporal peers who refused the oath were the Duke of Newcastle, the Earls of Clarendon, Lichfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the Lords Griffin and Stawell. Five of the Bishops withdrew themselves from the House at one time; but, before they retired, one of the number moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, by which moderate dissenters might be reconciled to the church, and admitted into ecclesiastical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and presented by the Earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the House for the pains he had taken. From this period, the party averse to the government of William were distinguished by the appellation

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appellation of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a King *de facto*, as well as all other distinctions and limitations; and declared for the absolute power, and divine hereditary indefeasible right of sovereigns.

§ IV. This faction had already begun to practise against the new government. The King having received some intimation of their designs from intercepted letters, ordered the Earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and some other gentlemen of the Scottish nation, to be apprehended and sent prisoners to the Tower. Then he informed the two Houses of the step he had taken, and even craved their advice with regard to his conduct in such a delicate affair, which had compelled him to trespass upon the law of England. The Lords thanked him for the care he took of their liberties, and desired he would secure all disturbers of the peace; but the Commons empowered him by a bill to dispense with the Habeas-Corpus-act till the seventeenth day of April next ensuing. This was a stretch of confidence in the crown which had not been made in favour of the late King, even while Argyle and Monmouth were in open rebellion. A spirit of discontent had by this time diffused itself through the army, and become so formidable to the court, that the King resolved to detain the Dutch troops in England, and send over to Holland in their room such regiments as were most tinctured with disaffection. Of these the Scottish regiment of Dumbarton, commanded by Mareschal Schomberg, mutinied on its march to Ipswich, seized the military chest, disarmed the officers who opposed their design, declared for King James, and with four pieces of cannon began their march for Scotland. William, being informed of this revolt, ordered General Ginckel to pursue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, and the mutineers surrendered at discretion. As the delinquents were natives of Scotland, which had not yet submitted in form to the new go-

vernment, the King did not think proper to punish them as rebels, but ordered them to proceed for Holland, according to his first intention. Though this attempt proved abortive, it made a strong impression upon the ministry, who were divided among themselves, and wavered in their principles. However, they seized this opportunity to bring in a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, which in a little time passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ V. The coronation-oath* being altered and explained, that ceremony was performed on the eleventh day of April, the Bishop of London officiating, at the King's desire, in the room of the Metropolitan, who was a malcontent; and next day the Commons, in a body, waited on the King and Queen at Whitehall, with an address of congratulation. William, with a view to conciliate the affection of his new subjects, and check the progress of clamour and discontent, signified in a solemn message to the House of Commons, his readiness to acquiesce in any measure they should think proper to take for a new regulation or total suppression of the hearth-money, which he understood was a grievous imposition on his subjects; and this tax was afterwards abolished. He was gratified with an address of thanks, couched

* The new form of the coronation-oath consisted in the following questions and answers: "Will you solemnly promise and swear to "govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions "thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, "and the laws and customs of the same?"

'I solemnly promise so to do.'

"Will you to the utmost of your power, cause law and justice in mercy "to be executed in all your judgments? 'I will.'—"Will you, to the "utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion as by law "established? and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of "this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such "rights and privileges as by law, do, or shall appertain unto them, or "any of them?"

'And this I promise to do.'

Then the King or Queen, laying his or her hand upon the Gospels, shall say, 'The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep. So help me God.'

in

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in the warmest expressions of duty, gratitude, and affection, declaring they would take such measures in support of his crown, as would convince the world that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

§ VI. He had, in his answer to the former address, assured them of his constant regard to the rights and prosperity of the nation: he had explained the exhausted state of the Dutch; expatiated upon the zeal of that Republick for the interest of Britain, as well as the maintenance of the Protestant religion; and expressed his hope that the English Parliament would not only repay the sums they had expended in his expedition, but likewise further support them to the utmost of their ability against the common enemies of their liberties and religion. He had observed that a considerable army and fleet would be necessary for the reduction of Ireland, and the protection of Britain; and he desired they would settle the revenue in such a manner, that it might be collected without difficulty and dispute. The sum total of the money expended by the States-general in William's expedition amounted to seven millions of guilders, and the Commons granted six hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of this debt, incurred for the preservation of their rights and religion. They voted funds for raising and maintaining an army of two-and-twenty thousand men, as well as for equipping a numerous fleet: but, they provided for no more than half a year's subsistence of the troops, hoping the reduction of Ireland might be finished in that term; and this instance of frugality the King considered as a mark of their diffidence of his administration. The Whigs were resolved to supply him gradually, that he might be the more dependent upon their zeal and attachment: but he was not at all pleased with their precaution.

§ VII. William was naturally biassed to Calvinism, and averse to persecution. Whatever promises he had made, and whatever sentiments of respect he

had entertained for the Church of England, he seemed now in a great measure alienated from it, by the opposition he had met with from its members, particularly from the Bishops, who had thwarted his measures. By absenting themselves from Parliament, and refusing the oath, they had plainly disowned his title, and renounced his government. He therefore resolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the same time, by removing the obstacles affixed to nonconformity, that all Protestant Dissenters should be rendered capable of enjoying and exercising civil employments. When he gave his assent to the bill for suspending the Habeas-Corpus-act, he recommended the establishment of a new oath in lieu of those of allegiance and supremacy: he expressed his hope that they would leave room for the admission of all his Protestant subjects who should be found qualified for the service; he said, *such a conjunction would unite them the more firmly among themselves, and strengthen them against their common adversaries.* In consequence of this hint, a clause was inserted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the sacramental test was declared unnecessary in rendering any person capable of enjoying any office or employment. It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the House of Lords. Another clause for the same purpose, though in different terms, was proposed by the King's direction, and met with the same fate, though in both cases several noblemen entered a protest against the resolution of the House. These fruitless efforts, in favour of dissenters, augmented the prejudice of the churchmen against King William, who would have willingly compromised the difference, by excusing the clergy from the oaths, provided the dissenters might be exempted from the sacramental test: but this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the proposal was rejected. The church-party in the House of Lords moved,

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moved, that instead of inserting a clause, obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the King should be empowered to tender them; and, in case of their refusal, they should incur the penalty, because deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, might make them desperate, and excite them to form designs against the government. This argument had no weight with the Commons, who thought it was indispensably necessary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were formed under their instruction. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a clause empowering the King to indulge any twelve clergymen, deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleasure. Thus the ancient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated: the declaration of non-resistance in the act of uniformity was repealed: the new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive simplicity, and the coronation-oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the first day of August, on pain of being suspended from their office for six months, and of entire deprivation, in case they should not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied, though with such reservations and distinctions as were not much for the honour of their sincerity.

§ VIII. The King, though baffled in his design against the sacramental test, resolved to indulge the dissenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being prepared by the Earl of Nottingham, was, after some debate, passed into a law, under the title of An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws. It enacted, That none of the penal laws should be construed to extend to those dissenters who should take the oaths to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of

of the thirtieth year of the reign of Charles II. provided that they should hold no private assemblies or conventicles with the doors shut; That nothing should be construed to exempt them from the payment of tithes, or other parochial duties; That, in case of being chosen into the offices of constable, church-warden, overseer, &c. and of scrupling to take the oaths annexed to such offices, they should be allowed to execute the employment by deputy; That the preachers and teachers in congregations of dissenting Protestants, who should take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth and the two succeeding articles, and part of the twentieth, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against nonconformists, as well as from serving upon juries, or acting in parish-offices: yet all justices of the peace were empowered to require such dissenters to subscribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and in case of refusal, to commit them to prison, without bail or mainprize. The same indulgence was extended to Anabaptists, and even to Quakers, on their solemn promise, before God, to be faithful to the King and Queen, and their assenting by profession and asseveration to those articles which the others ratified upon oath. They were likewise required to profess their belief in the Trinity and the Holy Scriptures. Even the Papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual matters. He rejected the proposals of some zealots, who exhorted him to enact severe laws against Popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would alienate all the Papists of Europe from the interests of England, and might produce a new Catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel; besides, he could not pretend to screen the Protestants of Germany and Hungary, while he himself should persecute the Catholics of England. He therefore resolved to treat them with lenity; and though they

BOOK I. were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration.

1689. § IX. We have observed, that, in consequence of the motion made by the bishops when they withdrew from Parliament, a bill was brought into the House of Lords for uniting their Majesties' protestant subjects. This was extremely agreeable to the King, who had the scheme of comprehension very much at heart. In the progress of the bill a warm debate arose about the posture of kneeling at the sacrament, which was given up in favour of the Dissenters. Another, no less violent, ensued upon the subsequent question, "Whether there should be an addition of "laity in the commission to be given by the King "to the bishops and others of the clergy, for pre- "paring such a reformation of ecclesiastical affairs "as might be the means of healing divisions, and "correcting whatever might be erroneous or defec- "tive in the constitution." A great number of the temporal lords insisted warmly on this addition, and when it was rejected, four peers entered a formal protest. Bishop Burnet was a warm stickler for the exclusion of the laity; and, in all probability, manifested this warmth in hopes of ingratiating himself with his brethren, among whom his character was very far from being popular. But the merit of this sacrifice was destroyed by the arguments he had used for dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament; and by his proposing in another proviso of the bill, that the subscribers, instead of expressing assent and consent, should only submit, with a promise of conformity.

§ X. The bill was with difficulty passed in the House of Lords: but the Commons treated it with neglect. By this time, a great number of malcontent members, who had retired from Parliament, were returned, with a view to thwart the administration, though they could not prevent the settlement. Instead of proceeding with the bill, they presented

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an address to the King, thanking him for his gracious declaration, and repeated assurances, that he would maintain the Church of England as by law established; a church whose doctrine and practice had evinced its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They likewise humbly besought his Majesty to issue writs for calling a convocation of the clergy, to be consulted in ecclesiastical matters, according to the ancient usage of Parliaments; and they declared they would forthwith take into consideration proper methods for giving ease to protestant dissenters. Though the King was displeased at this address, in which the Lords also had concurred, he returned a civil answer, by the mouth of the Earl of Nottingham, professing his regard for the church of England, which should always be his peculiar care, recommending the Dissenters to their protection, and promising to summon a Convocation as soon as such a measure should be convenient. This message produced no effect in favour of the bill, which lay neglected on the table. Those who moved for it, had no other view than that of displaying their moderation; and now they excited their friends to oppose it with all their interest. Others were afraid of espousing it, lest they should be stigmatized as enemies to the Church; and a great number of the most eminent presbyterians were averse to a scheme of comprehension, which diminished their strength, and weakened the importance of the party. Being, therefore, violently opposed on one hand, and but faintly supported on the other, no wonder it miscarried. The King, however, was so bent upon the execution of his design, that it was next session revived in another form, though with no better success.

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§ XI. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Parliament, was the settlement of a revenue for the support of the Government. Hitherto there had been no distinction of what was allotted for the King's use, and what was assigned for the service

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of the publick; so that the Sovereign was entirely master of the whole supply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and misapplied, it was now resolved that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the King's household, and the support of his dignity; and that the rest of the publick money should be employed under the inspection of Parliament. Accordingly, since this period, the Commons have appropriated the yearly supplies to certain specified services; and an account of the application has been constantly submitted to both Houses at the next session. At this juncture, the prevailing party, or the Whigs, determined that the revenue should be granted from year to year, or at least for a small term of years; that the King might find himself dependent upon the Parliament, and merit a renewal of the grant by a just and popular administration. In pursuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under consideration, they, on pretence of charges and anticipations which they had not time to examine, granted it by a provisional act for one year only. The civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the Queen Dowager, the Prince and Princess of Denmark, the Judges, and Mareschal Schomberg, to whom the Parliament had already granted one hundred thousand pounds, in consideration of his important services to the nation. The Commons also voted, that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace.

§ XII. The king took umbrage at these restraints laid upon the application of the publick money, which were the most salutary fruits of the Revolution. He considered them as marks of diffidence, by which he was distinguished from his predecessors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the services he had done the nation. The Tories perceived his disgust, and did not fail to foment his jealousy against

against their adversaries, which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the Whigs, in relation to a militia. A bill was brought into the House, for regulating it in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent both of the King and the lords-lieutenants of counties; these being generally peers. The bill was suffered to lie neglected on the table; but the attempt confirmed the suspicion of the King; who began to think himself in danger of being enslaved by a republican party. The Tories had, by the channel of Nottingham, made proffers of service to his Majesty: but complained at the same time, that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themselves in favour of the crown, lest they should incur a persecution from their implacable enemies. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XIII. These remonstrances made such impression on the King, that he sent a message to the House by Mr. Hambden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means for putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and occasions of discord. He desired it might be prepared with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should seem necessary for the vindication of publick justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement and welfare of the nation. An address of thanks to his Majesty was unanimously voted. Nevertheless, his design was frustrated by the backwardness of the Whigs, who proceeded so slowly in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the session. They wanted to keep the scourge over the heads of their enemies, until they should find a proper opportunity for revenge; and in the mean time, restrain them from opposition, by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to insinuate that the King's design was to raise the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and that he for this purpose pressed

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an act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might legally use the instruments of the late tyranny. The Earls of Monmouth and Warrington industriously infused these jealousies into the minds of their party: on the other hand, the Earl of Nottingham inflamed William's distrust of his old friends; both sides succeeded in kindling an animosity, which had like to have produced confusion, notwithstanding the endeavours used by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire to allay those heats, and remove the suspicions that mutually prevailed.

§ XIV. It was now judged expedient to pass an act for settling the succession of the crown, according to the former resolution of the Convention. A bill for this purpose was brought into the Lower House, with a clause disabling Papists from succeeding to the throne: to this the Lords added, "Or such as "should marry Papists;" absolving the subject in that case from allegiance. The Bishop of Salisbury, by the King's direction, proposed that the Princess Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, and her posterity, should be nominated in the act of succession, as the next protestant heirs, failing issue of the King, and Anne princess of Denmark. These amendments gave rise to warm debates in the Lower House; where they were vigorously opposed, not only by those who wished well in secret to the late King and the lineal succession; but likewise by the republican party, who hoped to see monarchy altogether extinguished in England, by the death of the three persons already named in the bill of succession. The Lords insisted upon their amendments, and several fruitless conferences were held between the two Houses. At length the bill was dropt for the present, in consequence of an event which in a great measure dissipated the fears of a popish successor. This was the delivery of the Princess Anne, who, on the twenty-seventh day of July, brought forth a son, christened

christened by the name of William, and afterwards created Duke of Gloucester. CHAP. I.

§ XV. In the midst of these domestick disputes, William did not neglect the affairs of the continent. He retained all his former influence in Holland, as his countrymen had reason to confide in his repeated assurances of inviolable affection. The great scheme which he had projected of a confederacy against France began at this period to take effect. The Princes of the Empire, assembled in the diet, solemnly exhorted the Emperor to declare war against the French King, who had committed numberless infractions of the treaties of Munster, Osnabruck, Nimeguen, and the truce; invaded their country without provocation, and evinced himself an inveterate enemy of the holy Roman empire. They, therefore, besought his Imperial Majesty to conclude a treaty of peace with the Turks, who had offered advantageous terms, and proceed to an open rupture with Louis: in which case, they would consider it as a war of the empire, and support their head in the most effectual manner. The States-General published a declaration against the common enemy, taxing him with manifold infractions of the treaty of commerce; with having involved the subjects of the Republick in the persecution which he had raised against the Protestants; with having cajoled and insulted them with deceitful promises and insolent threats; with having plundered and oppressed the Dutch merchants and traders in France; and, finally, with having declared war against the States, without any plausible reason assigned. The Elector of Brandenburgh denounced war against France, as a power whose perfidy, cruelty, and ambition, it was the duty of every Prince to oppose. The Marquis de Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, issued a counter declaration to that of Louis, who had declared against his master. He accused the French King of having laid waste the empire, without 1689.

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out any regard to the obligations of religion and humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the most barbarous acts of cruelty and oppression; and of having intrigued with the enemies of Christ for the destruction of the empire. The Emperor negociated an alliance offensive and defensive with the States-General, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power against France and her allies. It was stipulated, that neither side should engage in a separate treaty, on any pretence whatsoever; that no peace should be admitted, until the treaties of Westphalia, Osnabruck, Munster, and the Pyrenees, should have been vindicated: that, in case of a negociation for a peace or truce, the transactions on both sides should be communicated *bonâ fide:* and that Spain and England should be invited to accede to the treaty. In a separate article, the contracting powers agreed, that in case of the Spanish King's dying without issue, the States-General should assist the Emperor with all their forces to take possession of that monarchy: That they should use their friendly endeavours with the Princes Electors, their allies, towards elevating his son Joseph to the dignity of King of the Romans; and employ their utmost force against France, should she attempt to oppose his elevation.

§ XVI. William, who was the soul of this confederacy, found no difficulty in persuading the English to undertake a war against their old enemies and rivals. On the sixteenth day of April, Mr. Hambden made a motion for taking into consideration the state of the kingdom with respect to France, and foreign alliances; and the Commons unanimously resolved, that, in case his Majesty should think fit to engage in war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigour. An address was immediately drawn up, and presented to the King, desiring he would seriously consider the destructive methods taken of late years by

by the French King against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, particularly his present invasion of Ireland, and supporting the rebels in that kingdom. They did not doubt but the alliances already made, and those that might hereafter be concluded by his Majesty, would be sufficient to reduce the French King to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to violate the peace of Christendom; nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England; in the mean time they assured his Majesty he might depend upon the assistance of his Parliament, according to the vote which had passed in the House of Commons. This was a welcome address to King William. He assured them that no part of the supplies which they might grant for the prosecution of the war should be misapplied; and, on the seventh day of May, he declared war against the French Monarch. On this occasion, Louis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the Emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guarantee of the English crown: with having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee islands, taken forcible possession of New-York and Hudson's-bay, made depredations on the English at sea, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations, and sent an armament to Ireland, in support of the rebels of that kingdom.

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§ XVII. Having thus described the progress of the Revolution in England, we shall now briefly explain the measures that were prosecuted in Scotland, towards the establishment of William on the throne of that kingdom. The meeting of the Scottish Convention was fixed for the fourteenth day of March; and both parties employed all their interest to influence the election of members. The Duke of

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of Hamilton, and all the Presbyterians, declared for William. The Duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master: but, as he had neglected to lay in a store of provisions, he depended entirely upon the citizens for subsistence. The partisans of James were headed by the Earl of Balcarras, and Graham Viscount Dundee, who employed their endeavours to preserve union among the individuals of their party; to confirm the Duke of Gordon, who began to waver in his attachment to their Sovereign; and to manage their intrigues in such a manner as to derive some advantage to their cause from the transactions of the ensuing session. When the Lords and Commons assembled at Edinburgh, the Bishop of that diocese, who officiated as chaplain to the convention, prayed for the restoration of King James. The first dispute turned upon the choice of a president. The friends of the late King set up the Marquis of Athol in opposition to the Duke of Hamilton; but this last was elected by a considerable majority; and a good number of the other party, finding their cause the weakest, deserted it from that moment. The Earls of Lothian and Tweedale were sent as deputies, to require the Duke of Gordon, in the name of the Estates, to quit the castle in four-and-twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the protestant officer next in command. The Duke, though in himself irresolute, was animated by Dundee to demand such conditions as the Convention would not grant. The negociation proving ineffectual, the States ordered the heralds, in all their formalities, to summon him to surrender the castle immediately, on pain of incurring the penalties of high treason; and he refusing to obey their mandate, was proclaimed a traitor. All persons were forbid, under the same penalties, to aid, succour, or correspond with him; and the castle was blocked up with the troops of the city.

§ XVIII.

§ XVIII. Next day an express arrived from London, with a letter from King William to the Estates; and, at the same time, another from James was presented by one Crane, an English domestick of the abdicated Queen. William observed, that he had called a meeting of their Estates at the desire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland assembled at London, who requested that he would take upon himself the administration of their affairs. He exhorted them to concert measures for settling the peace of the kingdom upon a solid foundation; and to lay aside animosities and factions, which served only to impede that salutary settlement. He professed himself sensible of the good effects that would arise from an union of the two kingdoms; and assured them he would use his best endeavours to promote such a coalition. A committee being appointed to draw up a respectful answer to these assurances, a debate ensued about the letter from the late King James. This they resolved to favour with a reading, after the members should have subscribed an act, declaring, that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for dissolving the Convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the States, and would continue undissolved, until they should have settled and secured the Protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken this precaution, they proceeded to examine the letter of the late Sovereign, who conjured them to support his interest as faithful subjects, and eternize their names by a loyalty suitable to their former professions. He said he would not fail to give them such speedy and powerful assistance as would enable them to defend themselves from any foreign attempt; and even to assert his right against those enemies who had depressed it by the blackest usurpations and unnatural attempts, which the Almighty God would not allow

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to pass unpunished. He offered pardon to all those who should return to their duty before the last day of the month; and threatened to punish rigorously such as should stand out in rebellion against him and his authority.

§ XIX. This address produced very little effect in favour of the unfortunate exile, whose friends were greatly out-numbered in this assembly. His messenger was ordered into custody, and afterwards dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. James foreseeing this contempt, had, by an instrument dated in Ireland, authorised the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Balcarras, and the Viscount Dundee, to call a convention of the Estates at Stirling. These three depended on the interest of the Marquis of Athol and the Earl of Mar, who professed the warmest affection for the late King; and they hoped a secession of their friends would embarrass the Convention, so as to retard the settlement of King William. Their expectations, however, were disappointed. Athol deserted their cause; and Mar suffered himself to be intercepted in his retreat. The rest of their party were, by the vigilance of the Duke of Hamilton, prevented from leaving the Convention, except the Viscount Dundee, who retreated to the mountains with about fifty horse, and was pursued by order of the Estates. This design being frustrated, the Convention approved and recognised, by a solemn act, the conduct of the nobility and gentlemen who had intreated the King of England to take upon him the administration. They acknowledged their obligation to the Prince of Orange, who had prevented the destruction of their laws, religion, and fundamental constitution; they besought his Highness to assume the reins of government for that kingdom: they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons, from sixteen to sixty, to be in readiness to take arms when called upon for that purpose; they

they conferred the command of their horse-militia upon Sir Patrick Hume, who was formerly attainted for having been concerned in Argyle's insurrection: they levied eight hundred men for a guard to the city of Edinburgh, and constituted the Earl of Leven their commander; they put the militia all over the kingdom into the hands of those on whom they could rely: they created the Earl of Mar governor of Stirling-castle: they received a reinforcement of five regiments from England, under the command of Mackay, whom they appointed their general; and they issued orders for securing all disaffected persons. Then they dispatched Lord Ross, with an answer to King William's letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer, and congratulating him upon his success. They thanked him for assuming the administration of their affairs, and assembling a convention of their Estates. They declared they would take effectual and speedy measures for securing the Protestant religion, as well as for establishing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. They assured him they would, as much as lay in their power, avoid disputes and animosities; and desired the continuance of his Majesty's care and protection.

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§ XX. After the departure of Lord Ross, they appointed a committee, consisting of eight Lords, eight Knights, and as many Burgesses, to prepare the plan of a new settlement: but this resolution was not taken without a vigorous opposition from some remaining adherents of the late King, headed by the Archbishop of Glasgow; all the other prelates, except he of Edinburgh, having already deserted the Convention. After warm debates, the committee agreed in the following vote: "The Estates of the "kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That "King James VII. being a profest Papist, did as-"sume the royal power, and act as a King, with-"out ever taking the oath required by law; and

"had,

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"had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotick power, and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forfaulted the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." When this vote was reported, the Bishop of Edinburgh argued strenuously against it, as containing a charge of which the King was innocent; and he proposed that his Majesty should be invited to return to his Scottish dominions. All his arguments were defeated or over-ruled, and the House confirmed the vote, which was immediately enacted into a law by a great majority. The Lord President declared the throne vacant, and proposed that it might be filled with William and Mary, King and Queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for settling the crown upon their Majesties, together with an instrument of government for securing the subjects from the grievances under which they laboured.

§ XXI. On the eleventh day of April, this act, with the conditions of inheritance, and the instrument, were reported, considered, unanimously approved, and solemnly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, in presence of the Lord President, assisted by the Lord Provost and magistracy of the city, the Duke of Queensberry, the Marquisses of Athol and Douglas, together with a great number of the nobility and gentry. At the same time they published another proclamation, forbidding all persons to acknowledge, obey, assist, or correspond with the late King James; or, by word, writing, or sermon, to dispute or disown the royal authority of King William and Queen Mary; or to misconstrue

the proceedings of the estates, or create jealousies or misapprehensions with regard to the transactions of the government, on pain of incurring the most severe penalties. Then, having settled the coronation-oath, they granted a commission to the Earl of Argyle for the Lords, to Sir James Montgomery for the Knights, and to Sir John Dalrymple for the Boroughs, empowering them to repair to London, and invest their Majesties with the government. This affair being discussed, the Convention appointed a committee to take care of the publick peace, and adjourned to the twenty-first day of May. On the eleventh day of that month, the Scottish commissioners being introduced to their Majesties at Whitehall, presented first a preparatory letter from the Estates, then the instrument of government, with a paper containing a recital of the grievances of the nation; and an address, desiring his Majesty to convert the Convention into a Parliament. The King having graciously promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their Majesties by the Earl of Argyle. As it contained a clause, importing, that they should root out heresy, the King declared, that he did not mean by these words, that he should be under an obligation to act as a persecutor: the commissioners replying, that such was not the meaning or import of the oath, he desired them, and others present, to bear witness to the exception he had made.

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§ XXII. In the mean time, Lord Dundee exerted himself with uncommon activity in behalf of his master. He had been summoned by a trumpet to return to the Convention, refused to obey the citation, on pretence that the Whigs had made an attempt upon his life; and that the deliberations of the Estates were influenced by the neighbourhood of English troops, under the command of Mackay. He was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw, and rebel.

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rebel. He was rancorously hated by the Presbyterians, on whom he had exercised some cruelties, as an officer under the former government: and for this reason the States resolved to inflict upon him exemplary punishment. Parties were detached in pursuit of him and Balcarras. This last fell into their hands, and was committed to a common prison; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that surrounded him, and escaped to the Highlands, where he determined to take arms in favor of James, though that Prince had forbid him to make any attempt of this nature, until he should receive a reinforcement from Ireland. While this officer was employed in assembling the clans of his party, King William appointed the Duke of Hamilton commissioner to the Convention Parliament. The post of Secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon Lord Melvil, a weak and servile nobleman, who had taken refuge in Holland from the violences of the late reigns: but the King depended chiefly for advice upon Dalrymple Lord Stair, President of the College of Justice, an old crafty fanatick, who for fifty years had complied in all things with all governments. Though these were rigid Presbyterians, the King, to humour the opposite party, admitted some individuals of the episcopal nobility to the Council-Board: and this intermixture, instead of allaying animosities, served only to sow the seed of discord and confusion. The Scottish Convention, in their detail of grievances, enumerated the Lords of the articles; the act of Parliament in the reign of Charles II. by which the King's supremacy was raised so high that he could prescribe any mode of religion according to his pleasure; and the superiority of any office in the church above that of Presbyters. The King in his instructions to the Lord Commissioner, consented to the regulation of the Lords of the articles, though he would not allow the institution to be abrogated; he was contented that the act relating to the King's supremacy,

macy should be rescinded, and that the church-government should be established in such a manner as would be most agreeable to the inclinations of the people. CHAP. I. 1689.

§. XXIII. On the seventeenth day of June, Duke Hamilton opened the Scottish Parliament, after the Convention had assumed this name, in consequence of an act passed by his Majesty's direction; but the members in general were extremely chagrined when they found the commissioners so much restricted in the affair of the Lords of the articles, which they considered as their chief grievance*. The King permitted that the estates should choose the Lords by their own suffrages; and that they should be at liberty to re-consider any subject which the said Lords might reject. He afterwards indulged the three estates with the choice of eleven delegates each, for this committee, to be elected monthly, or oftener, if they should think fit: but even these concessions prove unsatisfactory, while the institution itself remained. Their discontents were not even appeased by the passing of an act abolishing prelacy. Indeed their resentment was inflamed by another consideration; namely, that of the King's having given seats in the council to some individuals attached to the hierarchy. They manifested their sentiments on this subject by bringing in a bill, excluding from any publick trust, place, or employment under their Majesties, all such as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign, or had discovered disaffection to

* The Lords of the articles, by the gradual usurpation of the crown, actually constituted a grievance intolerable in a free nation. The King empowered the commissioner to choose eight Bishops, whom he authorised to nominate eight noblemen: these together chose eight barons, and eight burgesses; and this whole number, in conjunction with the officers of state as supernumeraries, constituted the Lords of the articles. This committee possessed the sole exclusive right and liberty of bringing in motions, making overtures for redressing wrongs, and proposing means and expedients for the relief, safety, and benefit of the subjects. *Proceedings of the Scots Parliament vindicated.*

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the late happy change, or in any way retarded or obstructed the designs of the Convention. This measure was prosecuted with great warmth; and the bill passed through all the forms of the House, but proved ineffectual, for want of the royal assent.

§ XXIV. Nor were they less obstinate in the affair of the judges, whom the King had ventured to appoint by virtue of his own prerogative. The malcontents brought in a bill declaring the bench vacant, as it was at the restoration; asserting their own right to examine and approve those who should be appointed to fill it; providing, that if in time to come any such total vacancy should occur, the nomination should be in the King or Queen, or Regent for the time being, and the Parliament retain the right of approbation; and that all the clauses in the several acts relating to the admission of the ordinary Lords of Session, and their qualifications for that office, should be ratified and confirmed for perpetual observation. Such was the interest of this party, that the bill was carried by a great majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the ministers, who resolved to maintain the King's nomination, even in defiance of a parliamentary resolution. The majority, exasperated at this open violation of their privileges, forbad the judges whom the King had appointed to open their commissions, or hold a Session until his Majesty's further pleasure should be known: on the other hand, they were compelled to act by the menaces of the privy-council. The dispute was carried on with great acrimony on both sides, and produced such a ferment, that before the Session opened, the ministry thought proper to draw a great number of forces into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to support the Judges in the exercise of their functions.

§ XXV. The Lord Commissioner, alarmed at this scene of tumult and confusion, adjourned the House till the eighth day of October; a step which, added to the other unpopular measures of the court, incensed

incensed the opposition to a violent degree. They drew up a remonstrance to the King, complaining of this adjournment while the nation was yet unsettled, recapitulating the several instances in which they had expressed their zeal and affection for his Majesty; explaining their reasons for dissenting from the ministry in some articles; beseeching him to consider what they had represented, to give his royal assent to the acts of Parliament which they had prepared, and taken measures for redressing all the other grievances of the nation. This address was presented to the King at Hampton-court. William was so touched with the reproaches it implied, as if he had not fulfilled the conditions on which he accepted the crown of Scotland, that he, in his own vindication, published his instructions to the commissioner; and by these it appeared, that the Duke might have proceeded to greater lengths in obliging his countrymen. Before the adjournment, however, the Parliament had granted the revenue for life; and raised money for maintaining a body of forces, as well as for supporting the incidental expence of the government for some months; yet part of the troops in that kingdom were supplied and subsisted by the administration of England. In consequence of these disputes in the Scottish Parliament, their church was left without any settled form of government; for, though the hierarchy was abolished, the Presbyterian discipline was not yet established, and ecclesiastical affairs were occasionally regulated by the privy-council, deriving its authority from that very act of supremacy, which, according to the claim of rights, ought to have been repealed. CHAP. I. 1689.

§. XXVI. The session was no sooner adjourned than Sir John Lanier converted the blockade of Edinburgh-castle into a regular siege, which was prosecuted with such vigour, that in a little time the fortifications were ruined, and the works advanced at the foot of the walls, in which the besiegers had

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made several large breaches. The Duke of Gordon, finding his ammunition expended, his defences destroyed, his intelligence entirely cut off, and despairing of relief from the adherents of his master, desired to capitulate, and obtained very favourable terms for his garrison: but he would not stipulate any conditions for himself, declaring, that he had so much respect for all the princes descended from King James VI. that he would not affront any of them so far as to insist upon terms for his own particular; he therefore on the thirteenth day of June, surrendered the castle and himself at discretion. All the hopes of James and his party were now concentred in the Viscount Dundee, who had assembled a body of Highlanders, and resolved to attack Mackay, on an assurance he had received by message, that the regiment of Scottish dragoons would desert their officer, and join him in the action, Mackay, having received intimation of this design, decamped immediately, and by long marches retired before Dundee, until he was reinforced by Ramsey's dragoons, and another regiment of English infantry: then he faced about, and Dundee in his turn retreated into Lochabar. Lord Murray, son of the Marquis of Athol, assembled his vassals to the number of twelve hundred men for the service of the regency; but he was betrayed by one of his own dependents, who seized the castle of Blair for Dundee, and prevailed upon the Athol men to disperse, rather than fight against James their lawful Sovereign.

§ XXVII. The Viscount was by this time reduced to great difficulty and distress. His men had not for many weeks tasted bread or salt, or any drink but water: instead of five hundred infantry, three hundred horse, with a supply of arms, ammunition, and provision, which James had promised to send from Ireland, he received a reinforcement of three hundred naked recruits; but the transports with the stores fell into the hands of the English. Though

this was a mortifying disappointment, he bore it without repining: and, far from abandoning himself to despair, began his march to the castle of Blair, which was threatened with a siege by General Mackay. When he reached this fortress, he received intelligence that the enemy had entered the pass of Killycrankie, and he resolved to give them battle without delay. He accordingly advanced against them, and a furious engagement ensued, though it was not of long duration. The Highlanders having received and returned the fire of the English, fell in among them sword in hand with such impetuosity, that the foot were utterly broke in seven minutes. The dragoons fled at the first charge in the utmost consternation: Dundee's horse, not exceeding one hundred, broke through Mackay's own regiment; the Earl of Dumbarton, at the head of a few volunteers, made himself master of the artillery: twelve hundred of Mackay's forces were killed on the spot, five hundred taken prisoners, and the rest fled with great precipitation for some hours, until they were rallied by their General, who was an officer of approved courage, conduct, and experience. Nothing could be more complete or decisive than the victory which the Highlanders obtained; yet it was dearly purchased with the death of their beloved chieftain the Viscount Dundee, who fell by a random shot in the engagement, and his fate produced such confusion in his army as prevented all pursuit. He possessed an enterprising spirit, undaunted courage, inviolable fidelity, and was peculiarly qualified to command the people who fought under his banner. He was the life and soul of that cause which he espoused, and after his death it daily declined into ruin and disgrace. He was succeeded in command by Colonel Cannon, who landed the reinforcement from Ireland; but all his designs miscarried: so that the clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon, which

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King

BOOK I. King William offered to those who should submit, within the time specified in his proclamation.

1689. § XXVIII. After this sketch of Scottish affairs, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of James, and relate the particulars of his expedition to Ireland. That unfortunate Prince and his Queen were received with the most cordial hospitality by the French Monarch, who assigned the castle of St. Germain for the place of their residence, supported their household with great magnificence, enriched them with presents, and undertook to re-establish them on the throne of England. James, however, conducted himself in such a manner as conveyed no favourable idea of his spirit and understanding. He seems to have been emasculated by religion: he was deserted by that courage and magnanimity for which his youth had been distinguished. He did not discover great sensibility at the loss of his kingdom. All his faculties were swallowed up in bigotry. Instead of contriving plans for retrieving his crown, he held conferences with the Jesuits on topicks of religion. The pity which his misfortunes excited in Louis was mingled with contempt. The Pope supplied him with indulgences, while the Romans laughed at him in pasquinades; "There is a "pious man (said the Archbishop of Rheims, ironi-"cally,) who has sacrificed three crowns for a mass." In a word, he subjected himself to the ridicule and raillery of the French nation.

§ XXIX. All the hope of re-ascending the British throne depended upon his friends in Scotland and Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in this last kingdom, was confirmed in his attachment to James, by the persuasions of Hamilton, who had undertaken for his submission to the Prince of Orange. Nevertheless, he disguised his sentiments, and temporized with William, until James should be able to supply him with reinforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by private messages. In the mean time,

time, with a view to cajole the Protestants of Ireland, and amuse King William with hope of his submission, he persuaded the Lord Mountjoy, in whom the Protestants chiefly confided, and Baron Rice, to go in person with a commission to James, representing the necessity of yielding to the times, and of waiting a fitter opportunity to make use of his Irish subjects. Mountjoy, on his arrival at Paris, instead of being favoured with an audience by James, to explain the reasons which Tyrconnel had suggested touching the inability of Ireland to restore his Majesty, was committed prisoner to the Bastile, on account of the zeal with which he had espoused the Protestant interest. Although Louis was sincerely disposed to assist James effectually, his intentions were obstructed by the disputes of his ministry. Louvois possessed the chief credit in council; but, Seignelai enjoyed a greater share of personal favour, both with the King and Madame de Maintenon, the favourite concubine. To this nobleman, as secretary for marine affairs, James made his chief application; and he had promised the command of the troops destined for his service to Lausun, whom Louvois hated. For these reasons this minister thwarted his measures, and retarded the assistance which Louis had promised toward his restoration.

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§ XXX. Yet, notwithstanding all his opposition, the succours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to sea by the latter end of February. The French King is said to have offered an army of fifteen thousand natives of France to serve in this expedition; but James replied, that he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, he contented himself with about twelve hundred British subjects*, and a good number of French

* James in this expedition was attended by the Duke of Berwick and by his brother Mr. Fitzjames, grand prior, the Duke of Powis, the Earls of Dover, Melfort, Abercorn, and Seaforth; the Lords Henry and Thomas Howard, the Lords Drummond, Dungan, Trendraught,

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French officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, three fire-ships, with a good number of transports. The French King also supplied him with a considerable quantity of arms for the use of his adherents in Ireland; accommodated him with a large sum of money, superb equipages; store of plate, and necessaries of all kinds for the camp and the household. At parting, he presented him with his own cuirass, and embracing him affectionately, "The "best thing I can wish you (said he) is, that I may "never see you again." On the seventh day of March, James embarked at Brest, together with the Count D'Avaux, who accompanied him in quality of Ambassador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the seventeenth day of the month, when he set sail, and on the twenty-second landed at Kinsale in Ireland. By this time, King William perceiving himself amused by Tyrconnel, had published a declaration, requiring the Irish to lay down their arms, and submit to the new government. On the twenty-second day of February, thirty ships of war had been put in commission, and the command of them conferred upon Admiral Herbert; but the armament was retarded in such a manner by the disputes of the council, and the King's attention to the affairs of the continent, that the Admiral was not in a condition to sail till the beginning of April, and then with part of his fleet only. James was received with open arms

Trendraught, Buchan, Hundson, and Brittas; the Bishops of Chester and Galway, the late Lord Chief-Justice Herbert; the Marquis D'Estrades, M. de Rosene, Mareschal de Champ; Mamoe, Pusignan, and Lori, Lieutenant-generals; Prontee, Engineer-general; the Marquis d'Abbeville, Sir John Sparrow, Sir Roger Strictland, Sir William Jennings, Sir Henry Bond, Sir Charles Carney, Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker, Sir Alphonso Maiolo, Sir Samuel Foxon, and Sir William Wallis; by the Colonels Porter, Sarsfield, Anthony, and John Hamilton, Simon and Henry Luttrel, Ramsay, Dorrington, Sutherland, Clifford, Parker, Purcel, Cannon, and Fielding, with about two-and-twenty other officers of inferior rank.

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at Kinsale, and the whole country seemed to be at his devotion: for, although the Protestants in the North had declared for the new government, their strength and number was deemed inconsiderable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel. This minister had disarmed all the other Protestant subjects in one day, and assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand cavalry, for the service of his master. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXXI. In the latter end of March, James made his public entry into Dublin; amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle-gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which he publickly adored. He dismissed from the council-board the Lord Granard, Judge Keating, and other Protestants, who had exhorted the Lord-Lieutenant to an accommodation with the new government. In their room he admitted the French Ambassador, the Bishop of Chester, Colonel Dorrington, and, by degrees, the principal noblemen who accompanied him in the expedition. On the second day after his arrival in Dublin, he issued five proclamations: the first recalled all the subjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom by a certain time, on pain of outlawry and confiscation, and requiring all persons to join him against the Prince of Orange. The second contained expressions of acknowledgement to his Catholic subjects for their vigilance and fidelity, and an injunction to such as were not actually in his service, to retain and lay up their arms until it should be found necessary to use them for his advantage. By the third he invited the subjects to supply his army with provisions; and prohibited the soldiers to take any thing without payment. By the fourth he raised the value of the current coin; and in the fifth he summoned a Parliament to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. Finally, he created

BOOK I. created Tyrconnel a Duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

1689. § XXXII. The adherents of James in England pressed him to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but his council dissuaded him from complying with their solicitations, until Ireland should be totally reduced to obedience. On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the Protestants of Londonderry had shut their gates against the regiment commanded by the Earl of Antrim, and resolved to defend themselves against the Lord-Lieutenant. They transmitted this resolution to the government of England, together with an account of the danger they incurred by such a vigorous measure, and implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition, but did not receive any considerable reinforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time, King James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. George Walker, Rector of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the Protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy, the governor. This officer directed him to join Colonel Crafton, and take post at the Long-causey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy; until being overpowered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field, as the army of King James was not yet completely formed. Lundy assembling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted, they agreed, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw themselves from London-

derry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable capitulation in consequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately dispatched to King James, with proposals of a negociation; and Lieutenant-General Hamilton agreed that the army should halt at the distance of four miles from the town. Notwithstanding this preliminary, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that he was fain to retire to St. John's Town in some disorder. The inhabitants and soldiers in garrison at Londonderry were so incensed at the members of the council of war, who had resolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ships, and Lundy locked himself in his chamber. In vain did Walker and Major Baker exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to be concerned in the defence of the place, and he was suffered to escape in disguise, with a load of match upon his back; but he was afterwards apprehended in Scotland, from whence he was sent to London to answer for his perfidy or misconduct.

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§ XXXIII. After his retreat the towns-men chose Mr. Walker and Major Baker for their governors, with joint authority; but this office they would not undertake, until it had been offered to Colonel Cunningham, as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected the proposal, and with Richards returned to England, where they were immediately cashiered. The two new governors thus abandoned to their fate, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: indeed their courage seems to have transcended the bounds of discretion, for the place was very ill fortified: their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted: they had not one engineer to direct their operations: they had a very small number of horse: the garrison consisted

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consisted of people unacquainted with military discipline: they were destitute of provisions: they were besieged by a King in person, at the head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and supplied with all the necessary implements for a siege or battle. This town was invested on the twentieth day of April: the batteries were soon opened, and several attacks were made with great impetuosity; but the besiegers were always repulsed with considerable loss. The towns-men gained divers advantages in repeated sallies, and would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had they not been afflicted with a contagious distemper, as well as reduced to extremity, by want of provision. They were even tantalized in their distress; for they had the mortification to see some ships which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by the batteries the enemy had raised on both sides, and a boom with which they had blocked up the channel. At length, a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of General Kirke, who had deserted his master, and been employed in the service of King William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker, that he had troops and provisions on board for their relief, but found it impracticable to sail up the river: he promised, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniskilling, which amounted to five thousand men, including two thousand cavalry. He said he expected six thousand men from England, where they were embarked before he set sail. He exhorted them to persevere in their courage and loyalty, and assured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. These assurances enabled them to bear their miseries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminished. Major Baker dying, his place was filled with Colonel Michelburn, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker.

§ XXXIV.

§ XXXIV. King James having returned to Dublin, to be present at the Parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French General Rosene, who was exasperated at such an obstinate opposition by a handful of half-starved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and destroy the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, unless they would immediately submit themselves to their lawful sovereign. The governors treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order that no person, on pain of death, should talk of surrendering. They had now consumed the last remains of their provision, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and salted hides, and even this loathsome food began to fail. Rosene, finding them deaf to all his proposals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the Protestants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine. The Bishop of Meath, being informed of this design, complained to King James of the barbarous intention, entreating his Majesty to prevent its being put in execution. That Prince assured him that he had already ordered Rosene to desist from such proceedings. Nevertheless, the Frenchman executed his threats with the utmost rigour. Parties of dragoons were detached on this cruel service: after having stripped all the Protestants for thirty miles round, they drove these unhappy people before them like cattle, without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour. Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rosene, produced a quite contrary effect. The besieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian. They erected a

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gibbet in sight of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, importing, that they would hang all the prisoners they had taken during the siege, unless the Protestants whom they had driven under the walls should be immediately dismissed. This threat produced a negociation, in consequence of which the Protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue; and those who lived to return to their own habitations found them plundered and sacked by the Papists, so that the greater number perished for want, or were murdered by the straggling parties of the enemy; yet these very people had for the most part obtained protections from King James, to which no respect was paid by his general.

§ XXXV. The garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from seven to five thousand, seven hundred men, and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of killing the popish inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto lain inactive, ordered two ships laden with provisions to sail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of these, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom: and all thethree, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James were so disperited by the success of this enterprise, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed upon to embark for England, with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their Majesties for the seasonable relief they had received.

§ XXXVI. The Inniskilliners were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour

valour and perseverance with which they opposed the Papists. They raised twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, whom they chose for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the eleventh day of March; and resolved in a general council to maintain their title against all opposition. The Lord Gilmoy invested the castle of Crom belonging to the Protestants in the neighbourhood of Inniskillin, the inhabitants of which threw succours into the place, and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Belturbet. A detachment of the garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, took and demolished the castle of Aughor, and they gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated six thousand Irish Papists at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their commander Macarty, commonly called Lord Moncashel. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXXVII. The Irish Parliament being assembled at Dublin, according to the proclamation of King James, he, in a speech from the throne, thanked them for the zeal, courage, and loyalty they had manifested; extolled the generosity of the French King, who had enabled him to visit them in person; insisted upon executing his design of establishing liberty of conscience as a step equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and discretion, and promised to concur with them in enacting such laws as would contribute to the peace, affluence, and security of his subjects. Sir Richard Neagle, being chosen Speaker of the Commons, moved for an address of thanks to his Majesty, and that the Count D'Avaux should be desired to make their acknowledgments to the most Christian King, for the generous assistance he had given to their Sovereign. These addresses being drawn up, with the concurrence of both Houses, a bill was brought in to recognize the King's title, to express their abhorrence

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abhorrence of the usurpation by the Prince of Orange, as well as of the defection of the English. Next day James published a declaration, complaining of the calumnies which his enemies had spread to his prejudice; expatiating upon his own impartiality in preferring his protestant subjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redressing their grievances, and in granting liberty of conscience; promising that he would take no step but with the approbation of Parliament; offering a free pardon to all persons who should desert his enemies, and join with him in four-and-twenty days after his landing in Ireland, and charging all the blood that might be shed, upon those who should continue in rebellion.

§ XXXVIII. His conduct, however, very ill agreed with his declaration; nor can it be excused on any other supposition, but that of his being governed, in some cases against his own inclination, by the Count D'Avaux, and the Irish Catholicks, on whom his whole dependence was placed. As both houses were chiefly filled with members of that persuasion, we ought not to wonder at their bringing in a bill for repealing the act of settlement, by which the Protestants of the kingdom had been secured in the possession of their estates. These were by this law divested of their lands, which reverted to the heirs of those Catholicks to whom they belonged before their rebellion. This iniquitous bill was framed in such a manner, that no regard was paid to such protestant owners as had purchased estates for valuable considerations: no allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for protestant widows: the possessor and tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and corn. When the bill was sent up to the Lords, Dr. Dopping, Bishop of Meath, opposed it with equal courage and ability: and an address in behalf of the purchasers under the act of settlement was presented to the King by the Earl of Granard: but notwithstanding these remonstrances,

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it received the royal assent: and the Protestants of Ireland were mostly ruined. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXXIX. Yet, in order to complete their destruction, an act of attainder was passed against all Protestants, whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against all those who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, who did not own the authority of King James, or correspond with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the first day of August in the preceding year. The number of Protestants attainted by name in this act amounted to about three thousand, including two Archbishops, one Duke, seventeen Earls, seven Countesses, as many Bishops, eighteen Barons, three-and-thirty Baronets, one-and-fifty Knights, eighty-three clergymen, who were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. The individuals subjected to this dreadful proscription were even cut off from all hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal: for, by a clause in the act, the King's pardon was deemed null, unless enrolled before the first day of December. A subsequent law was enacted, declaring Ireland independent of the English parliament. This assembly passed another act, granting twenty thousand pounds per annum, out of the forfeited estates, to Tyrconnel, in acknowledgement of his signal services; they imposed a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month for the service of the King: the royal assent was given to an act for liberty of conscience; they enacted that the tithes payable by Papists should be delivered to priests of that communion; the maintenance of the Protestant clergy in cities and corporations was taken away; and all Dissenters were exempted from ecclesiastical jurisdictions. So that the established Church was deprived of all power and prerogative; notwithstanding the express promise of James, who had declared, im-

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mediately after his landing, that he would maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges.

§ XL. Nor was the King less arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we suppose that he countenanced the grievous acts of oppression that were daily committed upon the Protestant subjects of Ireland: but the tyranny of his proceedings may be justly imputed to the temper of his ministry, consisting of men abandoned to all sense of justice and humanity, who acted from the dictates of rapacity and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancour. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter: the people were robbed and plundered: licences and protections were abused, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The King's old stores were ransacked: the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to supply the mint with a quantity of brass, which was converted into current coin for his Majesty's occasions: an arbitrary value was set upon it, and all persons were required and commanded to take it in payment under the severest penalties, though the proportion between its intrinsick worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred. A vast sum of this counterfeit coin was issued in the course of one year, and forced upon the Protestants in payment of merchandise, provision, and necessaries, for the King's service. James, not content with the supply granted by Parliament, imposed by his own authority a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month on chattels, as the former was laid upon lands. This seems to have been a temporary expedient during the adjournment of the two Houses, as the term of the assessment was limited to three months: it was, however, levied by virtue of a commission under the seals: and seems to have been a stretch of prerogative, the less excusable, as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way. Understanding that

that the Protestants had laid out all their brass money, in purchasing great quantities of hides, tallow, wood, and corn, he assumed the despotick power of fixing the prices of these commodities, and then bought them for his own use. One may see his ministers were bent upon the utter destruction of those unhappy people. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XLI. All vacancies in publick schools were supplied with popish teachers. The pension allowed from the Exchequer to the university of Dublin was cut off: the Vice-provost, Fellows, and Scholars were expelled: their furniture, plate, and publick library, were seized, without the least shadow of pretence, and in direct violation of a promise the King had made to preserve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the college into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into prisons: a popish priest was appointed provost: one Maccarty of the same persuasion was made library-keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholick seminary. When bishopricks and benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the King ordered the profits to be lodged in the Exchequer, and suffered the cures to be totally neglected. The revenues were chiefly employed in the maintenance of Romish bishops and priests, who grew so insolent under this indulgence, that in several places they forcibly seized the protestant churches. When complaint was made of this outrage, the King promised to do justice to the injured: and in some places actually ordered the churches to be restored: but the popish clergy refused to comply with this order, alleging that in spirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but the holy see; and James found himself unable to protect his protestant subjects against a powerful body which he durst not disoblige. Some ships appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was issued, forbidding the Protestants to assem-

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ble in any place of worship, or elsewhere, on pain of death. By a second they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Luttrel, governor of Dublin, published an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the farmers to bring in their corn for his Majesty's horses within a certain day, otherwise he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all Protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; and, in order to keep up the credit of the brass money, the same penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, against any person who should give more than one pound eighteen shillings for a guinea.

§ XLII. All the revenues of Ireland, and all the schemes contrived to bolster up the credit of the base coin, would have proved insufficient to support the expences of the war, had not James received occasional supplies from the French monarch. After the return of the fleet which had conveyed him to Ireland, Louis sent another strong squadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money for the use of King James. Before they sailed from Brest, King William, being informed of their destination, detached Admiral Herbert from Spithead with twelve ships of the line, one fire-ship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by stress of weather into Milford-haven, from whence he steered his course to Kinsale, on the supposition that the French fleet had sailed from Brest; and that in all probability he should fall in with them on the coast of Ireland. On the first day of May he discovered them at anchor in Bantrey-bay, and stood in to engage them, though they were greatly superior to him in number. They no sooner perceived him at day-break, than they weighed, stood out to windward,

ward, formed their line, bore down, and began the action, which was maintained for two hours with equal valour on both sides, though the English fleet sustained considerable damage from the superior fire of the enemy. Herbert tacked several times, in hope of gaining the weather-gage; but the French Admiral kept his wind with uncommon skill and perseverance. At length the English squadron stood off to sea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renault tacked about, and returned into the bay, content with the honour he had gained. The loss of men was inconsiderable on both sides; and, where the odds were so great, the victor could not reap much glory. Herbert retired to the isles of Scilly, where he expected a reinforcement; but being disappointed in this expectation, he returned to Portsmouth in very ill humour, with which his officers and men were infected. The common sailors still retained some attachment to James, who had formerly been a favourite among them; and the officers complained that they had been sent upon this service with a force so much inferior to that of the enemy. King William, in order to appease their discontent, made an excursion to Portsmouth, where he dined with the Admiral on board the ship Elizabeth, declared his intention of creating him an earl, in consideration of his good conduct and services, conferred the honour of knighthood on the Captains Ashby and Shovel, and bestowed a donation of ten shillings on every private sailor:

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Burnet. Reresby. King. Belcarres. De la Fayette. Voltaire.

§ XLIII. The Parliament of England thought it incumbent upon them, not only to raise supplies for the maintenance of the war in which the nation was involved, but also to do justice with respect to those who had been injured by illegal or oppressive sentences in the late reigns. The attainders of Lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, Alderman Cornish, and Lady Lisle, were now reversed. A committee of

privileges

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privileges was appointed by the Lords to examine the case of the Earl of Devonshire, who in the late reign had been fined thirty thousand pounds, for assaulting Colonel Culpepper in the presence-chamber. They reported that the Court of King's-bench, in over-ruling the Earl's plea of privilege of parliament, had committed a manifest breach of privilege: that the fine was excessive and exorbitant, against the great charter, the common right of the subject, and the law of the realm. The sentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnson, chaplain to Lord Russel, in consequence of which he had been degraded, fined, scourged, and set in the pillory, was now annulled, and the Commons recommended him to his Majesty for some ecclesiastical preferment. He received one thousand pounds in money with a pension of three hundred pounds for his own life and that of his son, who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year: but the father never obtained any ecclesiastical benefice. Titus Oates seized this opportunity of petitioning the House of Lords for a reversal of the judgment given against him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions of all the judges and counsel at the bar were heard on this subject, and a bill of reversal passed the Commons: but the peers having inserted some amendments and a proviso, a conference was demanded, and violent heats ensued. Oates, however, was released from confinement; and the Lords, with the consent of the Commons, recommended him to his Majesty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a comfortable pension. The committee appointed to inquire into the cases of the state prisoners, found Sir Robert Wright, late Lord Chief-Justice, to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the West after the insurrection of Monmouth; as also one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and guilty of manifold enormities. Death had by this time delivered Jefferies from the resentment

resentment of the nation. Graham and Burton had acted as solicitors in the illegal prosecutions carried on against those who opposed the court in the reign of Charles II.; these were now reported guilty of having been instrumental in taking away the lives and estates of those who had suffered the loss of either under colour of law for eight years last past; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and prosecutions of *Quo Warranto*, endeavoured the subversion of the protestant religion, and the government of the realm; and of having wasted many thousand pounds of the publick revenue in the course of their infamous practices. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XLIV. Nor did the misconduct of the present ministry escape the animadversion of the Parliament. The Lords having addressed the King to put the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dovercastle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a posture of defence, and to disarm the Papists, empowered a committee to inquire into the miscarriages in Ireland, which were generally imputed to the neglect of the Marquisses of Caermarthen and Halifax. They presented an address to the King, desiring the minute-book of the committee for Irish affairs might be put into their hands; but his Majesty declined gratifying them in this particular: then the Commons voted, that those persons who had advised the King to delay this satisfaction were enemies to the kingdom. William, alarmed at this resolution, allowed them to inspect the book, in which they found very little for their purpose. The House resolved that an address should be presented to his Majesty, declaring, that the succour of Ireland had been retarded by the unnecessary delays; that the transports prepared were not sufficient to convey the forces to that kingdom; and that several ships had been taken by the enemy, for want of proper convoy. At the same time the question was put, whether or not they should address

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address the King against the Marquis of Halifax: but it was carried in the negative by a small majority. Before this period, How, Vice-chamberlain to the Queen, had moved for an address against such counsellors as had been impeached in Parliament, and betrayed the liberties of the nation.—This motion was levelled at Caermarthen and Halifax, the first of whom had been formerly impeached of high treason under the title of Earl of Dunby; and the other was charged with all the misconduct of the present administration. Warm debates ensued, and in all probability the motion would have been carried in the affirmative, had not those who spoke warmly in behalf of it suddenly cooled in the course of the dispute. Some letters from King James to his partisans being intercepted, and containing some hints of an intended invasion, Mr. Hambden, chairman of the committee of the whole House, enlarged upon the imminent danger to which the kingdom was exposed, and moved for a further supply to his Majesty. In this unexpected motion, he was not seconded by one member. The House, however, having taken the letters into consideration, resolved to draw up an address to the King, desiring him to secure and disarm all Papists of note; and they brought in a bill for attainting several persons in rebellion against their Majesties: but it was not finished during this session.

§. XLV. Another bill being prepared in the House of Lords, enjoining the subjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain seasons of the year, a petition was presented against it by the silk-weavers of London and Canterbury, assembled in a tumultuous manner at Westminster. The Lords refused their petition, because this was an unusual manner of application. They were persuaded to return to their respective places of abode; precautions were taken against a second riot; and the bill was unanimously rejected in the Upper House. This Parliament

liament passed an act, vesting in the two universities the presentations belonging to Papists: those of the southern counties being given to Oxford; and those of the northern to Cambridge, on certain specified conditions. Courts of conscience were erected at Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle; and that of the Marches of Wales was abolished, as an intolerable oppression. The Protestant clergymen, who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former preferment, with the proviso that they should resign their English benefices when restored to those they had been obliged to relinquish. The statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver was now repealed: the subjects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and silver from them, on condition that it should be brought to the Mint, and converted into money, the owner receiving its full value in current coin. These, and several other bills of smaller importance being passed, the two Houses adjourned to the twentieth day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth day of October.

CHAP. II.

§ I. *Duke of Schomberg lands with an army in Ireland.* § II. *The Inniskilliners obtain a victory over the Irish.* § III. *Schomberg censured for his inactivity.* § IV. *The French worsted at Walcourt.* § V. *Success of the confederates in Germany. The Turks defeated at Patochin, Nissa, and Widen.* § VI. *Death of Pope Innocent* XI. § VII. *King William becomes unpopular.* § VIII. *A good number of the clergy refuse to take the oaths.* § IX. *The King grants a commission for reforming church discipline.* § X. *Meeting of the Convocation.* § XI. *Their session discontinued by repeated prorogations.* § XII. *Proceedings in Parliament.* § XIII. *The Whigs obstruct the bill of indemnity.* § XIV. *The Commons resume the inquiry into the cause of the miscarriages in Ireland.* § XV. *King William irritated against the Whigs.* § XVI. *Plot against the government by Sir James Montgomery discovered by Bishop Burnet.* § XVII. *Warm debates in Parliament about the Corporation-bill.* § XVIII. *The King resolves to finish the Irish war in person.* § XIX. *General Ludlow arrives in England, but is obliged to withdraw.* § XX. *Efforts of the Jacobites in Scotland.* § XXI. *The court interest triumphs over all opposition in that country.* § XXII. *The Tory interest prevails in the new Parliament of England.* § XXIII. *Bill for recognizing their Majesties.* § XXIV. *Another violent contest about the Bill of adjuration.* § XXV. *King William lands in Ireland.* § XXVI. *King James marches to the Boyne.* § XXVII. *William resolves to give him battle.* § XXVIII. *Battle of the Boyne.* § XXIX. *Death and character of Schomberg.* § XXX. *James embarks for France.* XXXI. *William enters Dublin and publishes his declaration.* § XXXII. *The French obtain a victory over the English*

English and Dutch fleets off Beechy Head. § XXXIII. *Torrington committed prisoner to the Tower.* § XXXIV. *Progress of William in Ireland.* § XXXV. *He invests Limerick; but is obliged to raise the siege, and returns to England.* § XXXVI. *Cork and Kinsale reduced by the Earl of Marlborough.* § XXXVII. *Lauzun and the French forces quit Ireland.* § XXXVIII. *The Duke of Savoy joins the confederacy.* § XXXIX. *Prince Waldeck defeated at Fleurus.* § XL. *The Archduke Joseph elected King of the Romans. Death of the Duke of Lorraine. Progress of the war against the Turks.* § XLI. *Meeting of the Parliament.* § XLII. *The Commons comply with all the King's demands.* § XLIII. *Petition of the Tories in the city of London.* § XLIV. *Attempt against the Marquis of Caermarthen.* § XLV. *The King's voyage to Holland.* § XLVI. *He assists at a congress. Returns to England.*

§ I. THOUGH the affairs of Ireland were extremely pressing, and the Protestants of that country had made repeated application for relief, the succours were retarded either by disputes among the ministers, or the neglect of those who had the management of the expedition, in such a manner that King James had been six months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of dragoons, being raised for that service, a train of artillery provided, and transports prepared, the Duke of Schomberg, on whom King William had conferred the chief command of this armament, set out for Chester, after he had in person thanked the Commons for the uncommon regard they had paid to his services, and received assurances from the House, that they would pay particular attention to him and his army. On the thirteenth day of August he landed in the neighbourhood

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bourhood of Carrickfergus with about ten thousand foot and dragoons, and took possession of Belfast, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrickfergus, where they resolved to make a stand. The Duke having refreshed his men, marched thither, and invested the place: the siege war carried on till the twenty-sixth day of the month, when the breaches being practicable, the besieged capitulated, on condition of marching out with their arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs; and of their being conducted to the next Irish garrison, which was at Newry. During this siege the Duke was joined by the rest of his army from England: but he had left orders for conveying the greater part of the artillery and stores from Chester directly to Carlingford. He now began his march through Lisburne and Hillsborough, and encamped at Drummore, where the Protestants of the North had been lately routed by Hamilton: thence he proceeded to Loughbrillane, where he was joined by the horse and dragoons of Inniskillin. Then the enemy abandoned Newry and Dundalk, in the neighbourhood of which Schomberg encamped on a low damp ground, having the town and river on the south, and surrounded on every other part by hills, bogs, and mountains.

§ II. His army, consisting chiefly of new raised men little inured to hardship, began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and scarcity of provision. Here he was reinforced by the regiments of Kirke, Hanmer, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he understood Rosene lay with about twenty thousand men, had he not been obliged to wait for the artillery, which was not yet arrived at Carlingford. King James, having assembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and appeared before his entrenchments in order of battle; but the Duke, knowing they were greatly superior in number of horse, and that his own army was undisciplined, and

and weakened by death and sickness, restrained his men within the lines, and in a little time the enemy retreated. Immediately after their departure, a conspiracy was discovered in the English camp, hatched by some French Papists, who had insinuated themselves into the Protestant regiments. One of these, whose name was Du Plessis, had written a letter to the Ambassador D'Avaux, promising to desert with all the Papists of the French regiments in Schomberg's army. This letter being found, Du Plessis and five accomplices were tried by a court-martial and executed. About two hundred and fifty Papists being discovered in the French regiments, they were sent over to England, from thence to Holland. While Schomberg remained in this situation, the Inniskilliners made excursions in the neighbourhood, under the command of Colonel Lloyd; and on the twenty-seventh day of September they obtained a complete victory over five times their number of the Irish. They killed seven hundred on the spot, and took O'Kelly their commander, with about fifty officers, and a considerable booty of cattle. The Duke was so pleased with their behaviour on this occasion, that they received a very honourable testimony of his approbation. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ III. Mean while, the enemy took possession of James-Town, and reduced Sligo, one of the forts of which was gallantly defended by St. Sauver, a French Captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate for want of water and provision. A contagious distemper still continued to rage in Schomberg's camp, and swept off a great number of officers and soldiers; so that in the beginning of next spring, not above half the number of those who went over with the General remained alive. He was censured for his inactivity, and the King, in repeated letters, desired him to hazard an engagement, provided any opportunity should occur; but he did not think proper to run the

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the risque of a battle, against an enemy that was above thrice his number, well disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers. Nevertheless, he was certainly blameable for having chosen such an unwholesome situation. At the approach of winter he retired into quarters, in hopes of being re-inforced with seven thousand Danes, who had already arrived in Britain. These auxiliaries were stipulated in a treaty which William had just concluded with the King of Denmark. The English were not more successful at sea than they had proved in their operations by land. Admiral Herbert, now created Earl of Torrington, having sailed to Ireland with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, made a fruitless attempt upon Cork, and lost a great number of seamen by sickness, which was imputed to bad provision. The Dartmouth ship of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who infested the channel with such a number of armed ships and privateers, that the trade of England sustained incredible damage.

§ IV. The affairs of France wore but a gloomy aspect on the continent, where all the powers of Europe seemed to have conspired her destruction. King William had engaged in a new league with the States-General, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was stipulated, that in case the King of Great Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with six thousand infantry and twenty ships of the line; and that provided hostilities should be committed against the States-General, England should supply them with ten thousand infantry and twenty ships of war. This treaty was no sooner ratified than King William dispatched the Lord Churchill, whom he had by this time created Earl of Marlborough, to Holland, in order to command the British auxiliaries in that service, to the number of eleven thousand, the greater part of which had been in the army of King James

James when the Prince of Orange landed in England. The Earl forthwith joined the Dutch army, under the command of Prince Waldeck, who had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege, with a view to act against the French army commanded by the Mareschal D'Humieres; while the Prince of Vaudemont headed a little army of observation, consisting of Spaniards, Dutch, and Germans, to watch the motions of Calvo in another part of the Low-Countries. The city of Liege was compelled to renounce the neutrality, and declare for the Allies. Mareschal D'Humieres attacked the foragers belonging to the army of the States of Walcourt, in the month of August; an obstinate engagement ensued, and the French were obliged to retreat in confusion with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. The army of observation levelled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions on the territories of the enemy. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ V. The French were almost entire masters of the three ecclesiastical electorates of Germany. They possessed Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiserswaert, Philipsburgh, and Landau. They had blown up the castle of Heidelberg, in the Palatinate, and destroyed Manheim. They had reduced Worms and Spiers to ashes, and demolished Frankendahl, together with several other fortresses. These conquests, the fruits of sudden invasion, were covered with a numerous army, commanded by the Mareschal de Duras; and all his inferior generals were officers of distinguished courage and ability. Nevertheless, he found it difficult to maintain his ground against the different princes of the empire. The Duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial troops, invested Mentz, and took it by capitulation: the elector of Brandenburgh, having reduced Keiserswaert, undertook the siege of Bonne, which the garrison surrendered, after having made a long and vigorous defence. Nothing contributed more to the union

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union of the German Princes than their resentment of the shocking barbarity with which the French had plundered, wasted, and depopulated their country. Louis having, by his intrigues in Poland, and at Constantinople, prevented a pacification between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, the campaign was opened in Croatia, where five thousand Turks were defeated by a body of Croats between Vihitz and Novi. The Prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperialists on that side, having thrown a bridge over the Morava at Passarowitz, crossed that river, and marched in quest of the Turkish army, amounting to fifty thousand men, headed by a Seraskier. On the thirtieth day of August he attacked the enemy in the entrenchments near Patochin, and forced their lines, routed them with great slaughter, and took possession of their camp, baggage, and artillery. They retreated to Nissa, where the General finding them still more numerous than the Imperialists, resolved to make a stand: and encamped in a situation that was inaccessible in every part except the rear, which he left open for the convenience of a retreat. Through this avenue, he was, on the twenty-fourth day of September, attacked by the Prince of Baden, who, after a desperate resistance, obtained another complete victory, enriched his troops with the spoils of the enemy, and entered Nissa without opposition. There he found above three thousand horses and a vast quantity of provision. Having reposed his army for a few days in this place, he resumed his march against the Turks, who had chosen an advantageous post at Widen, and seemed ambitious of retrieving the honour they had lost in the two former engagements. The Germans attacked their lines without hesitation; and though the Mussulmen fought with incredible fury, they were a third time defeated with great slaughter. This defeat was attended with the loss of Widen, which being surrendered to the victor,

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he distributed his troops in winter-quarters, and returned to Vienna, covered with laurels. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ VI. The French were likewise baffled in their attempt upon Catalonia, where the Duke de Noailles had taken Campredon, in the month of May. Leaving a garrison in this place, he retreated to the frontiers of France, while the Duke de Villa Hermosa, at the head of a Spanish army, blocked up the place, and laid Rousillon under contribution. He afterwards undertook the siege in form, and Noailles marched to its relief; but he was so hard pressed by the Spaniards, that he withdrew the garrison, dismantled the place, and retreated with great precipitation. The French King hoped to derive some considerable advantage from the death of Pope Innocent XI. which happened on the twelfth day of August. That pontiff had been an inveterate enemy to Louis ever since the affair of the franchises, and the seizure of Avignon*. Cabals were immediately formed at Rome by the French faction against the Spanish and imperial interest. The French Cardinals de Bouillon and Bonzi, accompanied by Furstemberg, repaired to Rome with a

* The Franchises were privileges of asylum, annexed not only to the houses of Ambassadors at Rome, but even to the whole district in which any Ambassador chanced to live. This privilege was become a terrible nuisance, inasmuch as it afforded protection to the most atrocious criminals, who filled this city with rapine and murder. Innocent XI. resolving to remove this evil, published a bull, abolishing the Franchises; and almost all the Catholick powers of Europe acquiesced in what he had done, upon been duly informed of the grievance. Louis XIV. however, from a spirit of pride and insolence, refused to part with any thing that looked like a prerogative of his crown. He said the King of France was not the imitator, but a pattern and example for other princes. He rejected with disdain the mild representations of the Pope; he sent the marquis de Laverden as his ambassador to Rome, with a formidable train, to insult Innocent even in his own city. That nobleman swaggered through the streets of Rome like a bravo, taking all opportunities to affront the Pope, who excommunicated him in revenge. On the other hand, the Parliament of Paris appealed from the Pope's bull to a future council. Louis caused the Pope's Nuncio to be put under arrest, took possession of Avignon, which belonged to the See of Rome, and set the holy Father at defiance.

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large sum of money. Peter Ottoboni, a Venetian, was elected Pope, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. The Duke de Chaulnes, ambassador from France, immediately signified in the name of his master, that Avignon should be restored to the patrimony of the church; and Louis renounced the franchises, in a letter written by his own hand to the new Pontiff. Alexander received these marks of respect with the warmest acknowledgments; but, when the Ambassador and Furstemberg besought him to re-examine the election of the Bishop of Cologn, which had been the source of so much calamity to the empire, he lent a deaf ear to their solicitations. He even confirmed the dispensations granted by his predecessor to the Prince of Bavaria, who was thus empowered to take possession of the electorate, though he had not yet attained the age required by the Canons. Furstemberg retired in disgust to Paris, where Louis immediately gratified him with the Abbey of St. Germains.

§ VII. King William found it an easier task to unite the councils of Europe against the common enemy, than to conciliate and preserve the affections of his own subjects, among whom he began visibly to decline in point of popularity. Many were dissatisfied with his measures; and a great number even of those who exerted themselves for his elevation, had conceived a disgust from his personal deportment, which was very unsuitable to the manners and disposition of the English people. Instead of mingling with his nobility in social amusements and familiar conversation, he maintained a disagreeable reserve, which had all the air of sullen pride; he seldom or never spoke to his courtiers or attendants; he spent his time chiefly in the closet, retired from all communication; or among his troops, in a camp he had formed at Hounslow; or in the exercise of hunting, to which he was immoderately addicted. This had been prescribed to him by

by physicians as necessary to improve his constitution which was naturally weak, and by practice had become so habitual, that he could not lay it aside. His ill-health co-operating with his natural aversion to society, produced a peevishness which could not fail of being displeasing to those who were near his person; this was increased by the disputes in his cabinet, and the opposition of those who were professed enemies to his government, as well as by the alienation of his former friends. As he could not breathe without difficulty in the air of London, he resided chiefly at Hampton Court, and expended considerable sums in beautifying and enlarging that palace: he likewise purchased the house at Kensington of the Earl of Nottingham; and such profusion, in the beginning of an expensive war, gave umbrage to the nation in general. Whether he was advised by his counsellors, or his own sagacity pointed out the expediency of conforming with the English humour, he now seemed to change his disposition, and in some measure adopt the manners of his predecessors. In imitation of Charles II. he resorted to the races at New-market; he accepted an invitation to visit Cambridge, where he behaved himself with remarkable affability to the members of the University; he afterwards dined with the Lord Mayor of London, accepted the freedom of the city, and condescended so far as to become sovereign-master of the company of grocers.

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§ VIII. While William thus endeavoured to remove the prejudices which had been conceived against his person, the period arrived which the Parliament had prescribed for taking the oaths to the new government. Some individuals of the Clergy sacrificed their benefices to their scruples of conscience; and absolutely refused to take oaths that were contrary to those they had already sworn in favour of their late sovereign. These were distinguished by the epithet of Nonjurors; but their

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number bore a very small proportion to that of others, who took them with such reservations and distinctions as redounded very little to the honour of their integrity. Many of those who had been the warmest advocates for non-resistance and passive obedience made no scruple of renouncing their allegiance to King James, and complying with the present act, after having declared that they took the oaths in no other sense than that of a peaceable submission to the powers that were. They even affirmed that the legislature itself had allowed the distinction between a King *de facto* and a King *de jure*, as they had dropped the word "rightful," when the form was under debate. They alleged that as prudence obliged them to conform to the letter of the oath, so conscience required them to give it their own interpretation. Nothing could be more infamous and of worse tendency, than this practice of equivocating in the most sacred of all obligations. It introduced a general disregard of oaths, which had been the source of universal perjury and corruption. Though this set of temporisers were bitterly upbraided both by the Nonjurors and the Papists, they all concurred in representing William as an enemy to the church; as a Prince educated in the doctrines of Calvin, which he plainly espoused by limiting his favour and preferment to such as were latitudinarians in religion, and by his abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland. The Presbyterians of that kingdom now tyrannised in their turn. They were headed by the Earl of Crawford, a nobleman of a violent temper and strong prejudices. He was chosen President of the Parliament by the interest of Melvil, and oppressed the Episcopalians in such a manner, that the greater part of them, from resentment, became well-wishers to King James. Every circumstance of the hardships they underwent was reported in England; and the Earl of Clarendon, as well as the suspended Bishops, circulated these particulars

ticulars with great assiduity. The oaths being rejected by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough and Gloucester, they were suspended from their functions, and threatened with deprivation. Lake of Chichester, being seized with a dangerous distemper, signed a solemn declaration, in which he professed his adherence to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which he believed to be the distinguishing characteristick of the Church of England. After his death this paper was published, industriously circulated, and extolled by the party as an inspired oracle pronounced by a martyr to religious truth and sincerity. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ IX. All the clamour that was raised against the King could not divert him from prosecuting the scheme of comprehension. He granted a commission under the great seal to ten Bishops, and twenty dignitaries of the church, authorising them to meet from time to time in the Jerusalem-chamber, to prepare such alteration of the Liturgy and the Canons, and such proposals for the reformation of Ecclesiastical courts as might most conduce to the good order, edification, and uniting of the Church, and tend to reconcile all religious differences among the protestant subjects of the kingdom. A cry was immediately raised against this commission, as an Ecclesiastical court, illegal and dangerous. At their first meeting, the authority of the commission was questioned by Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, who retired in disgust, and was followed by Mew of Winchester, and the Doctors Jane and Aldrich. These were averse to any alteration of the forms and constitution of the church in favour of an insolent and obstinate party, which ought to have been satisfied with the toleration they enjoyed. They observed, that an attempt to make such alteration would divide the Clergy, and bring the Liturgy into disesteem with the people, as it would be a plain acknowledgement

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acknowledgement that it wanted correction. They thought they should violate the dignity of the Church, by condescending to make offers which the Dissenters were at liberty to refuse: and they suspected some of their colleagues of a design to give up episcopal ordination—a step inconsistent with their honour, duty, oaths, and subscriptions.

§ X. The commissioners, notwithstanding this secession, proceeded to debate with moderation on the abuses of which the Dissenters had complained, and corrected every article that seemed liable to any just objection; but the opposite party employed all their art and industry to inflame the minds of the people. The two universities declared against all alterations, and those who promoted them. The King himself was branded as an enemy to the hierarchy; and they bestirred themselves so successfully in the election of members for the Convocation, that they procured a very considerable majority. At their first meeting, the friends of the Comprehension Scheme proposed Dr. Tillotson, clerk of the closet to his Majesty, as prolocuter; but the other party carried it in favour of Dr. Jane, who was counted the most violent churchman in the whole assembly. In a Latin speech to the Bishop of London as president, he, in the name of the Lower House, asserted that the Liturgy of England needed no amendment, and concluded with the old declaration of the Barons, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* We will not suffer the laws of England to be changed." The Bishop, in his reply, exhorted them to moderation, charity, and indulgence towards their brethren the Dissenters, and to make such abatements in things indifferent as might serve to open a door of salvation to multitudes of straying Christians. His injunctions, however, produced no favourable effect. The Lower House seemed to be animated by a spirit of opposition. Next day the President prorogued them, on pretence

tence that the royal commission, by which they were to act, was defective for want of being sealed, and that a prorogation was necessary until that sanction should be obtained. In this interval means were used to mollify their non-compliant tempers; but all endeavours proved ineffectual. When they met again, the Earl of Nottingham delivered the King's commission to both Houses, with a speech of his own, and a message from his Majesty, importing, that he had summoned them out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the Church of England, which should always enjoy his favour and protection. He exhorted them to lay aside all prejudice, and consider calmly and impartially whatever should be proposed: he assured them he would offer nothing but what should be for the honour, peace, and advantage of the protestant religion in general, and particularly of the Church of England.

§ XI. The Bishops adjourning to the Jerusalem-chamber, prepared a zealous address of thanks to his Majesty, which, being sent to the Lower House for their concurrence, met with violent opposition. Amendments were proposed; a conference ensued, and after warm debates, they agreed upon a cold address, which was accordingly presented. The majority of the Lower House, far from taking any measures in favour of Dissenters, converted all their attention to the relief of their nonjuring brethen. Zealous speeches were made in behalf of the suspended Bishops; and Dr. Jane proposed that something might be done to qualify them to sit in the Convocation. This, however, was such a dangerous point as they would not venture to discuss; yet, rather than proceed upon the business for which they had been assembled, they began to take cognizance of some pamphlets lately published, which they conceived to be of dangerous consequence to the Christian religion. The president and his party,

BOOK I. party, perceiving the disposition of the House, did not think proper to communicate any proposal touching the intended reformation, and the King suffered the session to be discontinued by repeated prorogations. 1689.

§ XII. The Parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the King, in a speech of his own composing, explained the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war. He desired that they might be speedy in their determinations on this subject, for these would in a great measure influence the deliberations of the Princes and States concerned in the war against France, as a general meeting of them was appointed to be held next month at the Hague, to settle the operations of the ensuing campaign. He concluded with recommending the dispatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his subjects might be quieted, and that they might unanimously concur in promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. As several inflammatory bills and disputes, which had produced heats and animosities in the last session, were still depending, the King, after having consulted both Houses, resolved to put an end to those disputes, by a prorogation. He accordingly went to the House of Lords, and prorogued the Parliament till the twenty-first day of October, by the mouth of the new Speaker, Sir Robert Atkins, the Marquis of Halifax having resigned that office. When they re-assembled, the King referred them to his former speech; then the Commons unanimously resolved to assist his Majesty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France: for these purposes they voted a supply of two millions.

§ XIII. During this session the Whigs employed all their influence and intrigues in obstructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for favour and preferment to the opposite party, which

which began to gain ground in the King's good graces. With this view they revived the prosecution of the state prisoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge against Burton and Graham. The Commons resolved to impeach the Earls of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Castlemain, Sir Edward Hales, and Obediah Walker of high treason, for having been reconciled to the Church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the realm. A bill was ordered to be brought in, to declare the estate of the late Lord Chancellor Jefferies forfeited to the crown, and attaint his blood; but it met with such opposition that the measure was dropped; the House however agreed, that the pecuniary penalties incurred by those persons who had exercised offices contrary to the laws against Popish recusants should be speedily levied, and applied to the public service. The Lord Griffin being detected in maintaining a correspondence with King James, and his partisans, was committed to the Tower; but, as no other evidence appeared against him than written letters, found in the false bottom of a pewter bottle, they could not help consenting to his being released upon bail, as they had lately resolved that Algernon Sidney was unjustly condemned in the reign of Charles II. because nothing but writings had been produced against him at his trial. The two Houses concurred in appointing a committee to inquire who were the advisers and prosecutors in taking away the lives of Lord Russel, Colonel Sydney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Alderman Cornish, and others; and who were chiefly concerned in the arbitrary practices touching the writs of *Quo Warranto*, and the surrender of charters: This enquiry was levelled at the Marquis of Halifax, who had concurred with the ministry of Charles in all these severities. Though no proof appeared, upon which votes or addresses could be founded, that nobleman saw it was necessary for him to withdraw himself from the administration; he

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he therefore resigned the privy-seal, which was put in commission, and reconciled himself to the Tories, of whom he became the patron and protector.

§ XIV. The Commons likewise resumed the examinations of the miscarriages in Ireland, and desired the King would appoint commissioners, to go over and enquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom. Schomberg understanding that he had been blamed in the House of Commons for his inactivity, transmitted to the King a satisfactory vindication of his own conduct; and it appeared that the miscarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to John Shales, purveyor-general to the army. The Commons immediately presented an address to his Majesty, praying that Shales might be taken into custody; that all his papers, accounts, and stores should be secured; and that Duke Schomberg might be empowered to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The King gave them to understand that he had already sent orders to the General for that purpose. Nevertheless, they in another petition requested his Majesty to name those who had recommended Shales to his service, as he had exercised the same office under King James, and was suspected of treasonable practices against the government. William declined gratifying their request; but he afterwards sent a message to the House, desiring them to recommend a certain number of commissioners to superintend such provisions and preparations as might be necessary for that service, as well as to nominate certain persons to go over and examine the state of the army in Ireland. The Commons were so mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they left the whole affair to his own direction, and proceeded to examine other branches of misconduct. Instances of mismanagement appeared so numerous and so flagrant, that they resolved upon a subsequent address, to explain the

the ill conduct and success of his army and navy; to desire he would find out the authors of these miscarriages, and for the future entrust unsuspected persons with the management of affairs. They ordered the victuallers of the fleet to be taken into custody on suspicion of their having furnished the navy with unwholesome provisions, and new commissioners were appointed. Bitter reproaches were thrown out against the ministry. Mr. Hambden expressed his surprise that the administration should consist of those very persons whom King James had employed when his affairs were desperate, to treat with the Prince of Orange, and moved that the King should be petitioned in an address to remove such persons from his presence and councils. This was a stroke aimed at the Earl of Nottingham, whose office of secretary Hambden desired to possess; but his motion was not seconded, the court-members observing that James did not depute those Lords to the Prince of Orange because they were attached to his own interest, but for a very different reason, namely, that they were well known to disapprove of his measures, and therefore would be the more agreeable to his Highness. The House, however, voted an address to the King, desiring that the authors of the miscarriages might be brought to condign punishment. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ XV. In the sequel, the question was proposed, Whether a placeman ought to have a seat in the House? and a very warm debate ensued; but it was carried in the affirmative, on the supposition that by such exclusion the Commonwealth would be deprived of some of the ablest senators of the kingdom. But what chiefly irritated William against the Whigs was their backwardness in promoting the publick service, and their disregard of the earnest desire he expressed to see his revenue settled for life. He said his title was no more than a pageant, and the worst of all governments was that of a king without

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out treasure. Nevertheless, they would not grant the civil list for a longer term than one year. They began to think there was something arbitrary in his disposition. His sullen behaviour, in all probability, first infused this opinion, which was strengthened and confirmed by the insinuations of his enemies. The Scots who had come up to London to give an account of the proceedings in their Parliament, were infected with the same notion. One Simpson, a presbyterian of that country, whom the Earl of Portland employed as a spy, had insinuated himself into the confidence of Nevil Payne, an active and intelligent partisan and agent of King James; by which means he supplied the Earl with such intelligence as raised him to some degree of credit with that minister. This he used in prepossessing the Earl against the King's best friends, and infusing jealousies which were soon kindled into mutual distrust and animosity.

§ XVI. Sir James Montgomery, who had been a warm advocate for the Revolution, received advice that the court suspected him and others of disaffection, and was employed in seeking evidence by which they might be prosecuted. They were equally alarmed and incensed at this intimation, and Payne seized the opportunity of seducing them into a correspondence with the exiled King. They demanded the settlement of Presbytery in Scotland, and actually engaged in a treaty for his restoration. They reconciled themselves to the Duke of Queensberry, and the other noblemen of the episcopal party: they wrote to James for a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a reinforcement of three thousand men from Dunkirk. Montgomery had acquired great interest among the Whigs of England, and this he employed in animating them against the King and the ministry. He represented them as a set of wicked men, who employed infamous spies to ensnare and ruin the fast friends of the government,

government, and found means to alienate them so much from William, that they began to think in earnest of recalling their banished Prince. The Duke of Bolton, and the Earl of Monmouth, were almost persuaded into a conspiracy for this purpose; they seemed to think James was now so well convinced of his former errors, that they might trust him without scruple. Montgomery and Payne were the chief managers of the scheme, and they admitted Ferguson into their councils, as a veteran in the arts of treason. In order to blast William's credit in the city, they circulated a report that James would grant a full indemnity, separate himself entirely from the French interest, and be contented with a secret connivance in favour of the Roman Catholicks. Montgomery's brother assured the Bishop of Salisbury, that a treaty with King James was absolutely concluded, and an invitation subscribed by the whole cabal. He said this paper would be sent to Ireland by the way of France, as the direct communication was difficult; and he proposed a method for seizing it before it should be conveyed out of the kingdom. Williamson, the supposed bearer of it, had obtained a pass for Flanders, and a messenger being sent in pursuit of him, secured his cloaths and portmanteau; but, after a very strict examination, nothing appeared to justify the intelligence. Williamson had previously delivered the papers to Simpson, who hired a boat at Deal, and arrived in safety at France. He returned with large assurances, and twelve thousand pounds were remitted to the Scottish undertakers. Montgomery, the informer, seeing his intelligence falsified, lost his credit with the Bishop, and dreading the resentment of the other party, retired to the Continent. The conspirators loudly complained of the false imputations they had incurred. The pretended discoveries were looked upon as fictions, of the ministry, and the king

CHAP. II. 1689.

BOOK I. King on this occasion suffered greatly in the opinion of his subjects.

1689. § XVII. The Tories still continued to carry on a secret negociation with the Court. They took advantage of the ill-humour subsisting between the King and the Whigs; and promised large supplies of money provided this Parliament should be dissolved, and another immediately convoked. The opposite party, being apprised of their intention, brought a bill into the House of Commons for restoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges. They knew their own strength at elections consisted in these corporations: and they inserted two additional severe clauses against those who were in any shape concerned in surrendering charters. The whole power of the Tories was exerted against this clause; and now the Whigs vied with them in making court to his Majesty, promising to manifest the most submissive obedience should this bill be enacted into a law. The strength of the Tories was now become so formidable in the House, that they outvoted the other party, and the clauses were rejected; but the bill passed in its original form. The Lords debated upon the point, Whether a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered; Lord Chief Justice Holt and two other Judges declared their opinion in the affirmative: the rest thought otherwise, as no precedents could be produced farther back than the reign of Henry VIII. when the Abbeys were surrendered: and this instance seemed too violent to authorise such a measure in a regular course of administration. The bill, however, passed by one voice only. Then both parties quickened their applications to the King, who found himself so perplexed and distracted between two factions which he equally feared, that he resolved to leave the government in the Queen's hands, and retire to Holland. He communicated this design to the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and some other

other noblemen, who pressed him to lay aside his resolution, and even mingled tears with their remonstrances. CHAP. II. 1689.

§. XVIII. He at length complied with their request, and determined to finish the Irish war in person. This design was far from being agreeable to the Parliament. His friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak constitution. The well-wishers of James were afraid of that Prince's being hard pressed, should William take the field against him in person: both Houses, therefore, began to prepare an address against this expedition. In order to prevent this remonstrance, the King went to the Parliament, and formally signified his resolution. After his speech they were prorogued to the second day of April. On the sixth day of February they were dissolved by proclamation, and a new Parliament was summoned to meet on the twentieth day of March. During this session the Commons, in an address to the King, desired that a revenue of fifty thousand pounds might be settled upon the Prince and Princess of Denmark, out of the civil list; and his Majesty gratified them in this particular: yet, the warmth and industry with which the friends of the Princess exerted themselves in promoting the settlement, produced a coldness and misunderstanding between the two sisters; and the subsequent disgrace of the Earl of Marlborough was imputed to the part which his wife acted on the occasion. She was lady of the bed-chamber, and chief confident of the Princess, whom she strenuously advised to insist upon the settlement, rather than depend upon the generosity of the King and Queen.

§. XIX. About this period, General Ludlow, who at the Restoration had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as one of those who sat in judgment upon Charles I. arrived in England, and offered his service in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly

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formerly commanded. Though a rigid republican, he was reputed a conscientious man, and a good officer. He had received some encouragement to come over, and probably would have been employed, had not the Commons interposed. Sir Edward Seymour, who enjoyed by grant an estate in Wiltshire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, began to be in pain for his possession. He observed in the House, that the nation would be disgraced, should one of the parricides be suffered to live in the kingdom. An address was immediately presented to the King, desiring a proclamation might be issued, promising a reward for apprehending General Ludlow. This was accordingly published; but not before he had landed in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay in Swisserland, where he wrote the memoirs of his life, and died after an exile of thirty years.

§ XX. While King William fluctuated between two parties in England, his interest in Scotland had well nigh given way to a coalition between the original Jacobites and Montgomery's party, of discontented Presbyterians. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded the Viscount Dundee in command, after having made several unsuccessful efforts in favour of the late King's interest, retired into Ireland; and the Highlanders chose Sir Hugh Cameron for their leader. Under him they renewed their incursions with the better prospect of success, as several regiments of the regular troops had been sent to reinforce the army of Schomberg. James assisted them with clothes, arms, and ammunition, together with some officers, amongst whom was Colonel Bucan, appointed to act as their chief commander. This officer, at the head of fifteen hundred men, advanced into the shire of Murray, in hope of being joined by other malcontents: but he was surprised and routed by Sir Thomas Livingstone, while Major Ferguson destroyed the places they possessed in the Isle of Mull; so that the Highlanders were obliged to retire, and

and conceal themselves among their hills and fastnesses. The friends of James, despairing of doing any thing effectual for his service in the field, converted all their attention to the proceedings in Parliament; where they imagined their interest was much stronger than it appeared to be upon trial. They took the oaths without hesitation, and hoped, by the assistance of their new allies, to embroil the government in such a manner that the majority of the people would declare for a restoration. But the views of these new-cemented parties were altogether incompatible; and their principles diametrically opposite. Notwithstanding their concurrence in Parliament, the Earl of Melvil procured a small majority. The opposition was immediately discouraged: some individuals retracted, rather than fall with a sinking cause; and mutual jealousies began to prevail. The leaders of the coalition treated separately with King James; made inconsistent demands; reciprocally concealed their negociations: in a word, they distrusted and hated one another with the most implacable resentment. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ XXI. The Earls of Argyle, Anandale, and Braidalbin, withdrew from their councils, and repaired to England. Montgomery, terrified at their defection, went privately to London, after he had hinted something of the plot to Melvil, and solicited a pass from the Queen, which was refused. Anandale, having received information that Montgomery had disclosed all the particulars of the negociation, threw himself upon the Queen's mercy, and disclosed all he knew of the conspiracy. As he had not treated with any of the malcontents in England, they remained secure from his evidence; but he informed against Nevil Payne, who had been sent down as their agent to Scotland, where he now resided. He was immediately apprehended by the council of that kingdom, in consequence of a letter from the Earl of Nottingham; and twice put to the

BOOK I. torture, which he resolutely bore, without discovering his employers. Montgomery still absconded in London, soliciting a pardon; but, finding he could not obtain it, except on condition of making a full discovery, he abandoned his country, and chose to die in exile, rather than betray his confederates. This disunion of the conspirators, and discovery of the plot, left the Earl of Melvil in possession of a greater majority; though even this he was fain to secure by overstraining his instructions in the articles of patronage, and the supremacy of the crown, which he yielded up to the fury of the fanatick Presbyterians, contrary to the intention of King William. In lieu of these, however, they indulged him with the tax of chimney or hearth-money: as well as with a test to be imposed upon all persons in office and parliament, declaring William and Mary their lawful sovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of King James. All the laws in favour of episcopacy were repealed. Threescore of the Presbyterian ministers, who had been ejected at the Restoration, were still alive; and these the Parliament declared the only sound part of the church. The government of it was lodged in their hands; and they were empowered to admit such as they should think proper to their assistance. A few furious fanaticks being thus associated, proceeded with ungovernable violence to persecute the episcopal party, exercising the very same tyranny against which they themselves had so loudly exclaimed.

1689.

An. 1690. § XXII. While the Presbyterian interest thus triumphed in Scotland, the two parties that divided England employed their whole influence and attention in managing the elections for a new parliament; and the Tories obtained the victory. The King seemed gradually falling into the arms of this party. They complained of their having been totally excluded from the Lieutenancy of London at the King's accession to the crown; and now a considerable

siderable number of the most violent Tories in the city were admitted into the commission by the interest and address of the Bishop of London, the Marquis of Caermarthen, and the Earl of Nottingham. To gratify that party, the Earls of Monmouth and Warrington were dismissed from their employments: nay, when the Parliament met on the twentieth day of March, the Commons chose for their Speaker Sir John Trevor, a violent partisan of that faction, who had been created Master of the Rolls by the late King. He was a bold, artful man, and undertook to procure a majority to be at the devotion of the Court, provided he should be supplied with the necessary sums for the purposes of corruption. William, finding there was no other way of maintaining his administration in peace, thought proper to countenance the practice of purchasing votes, and appointed Trevor first commissioner of the great seal. In his speech to the new Parliament, he gave them to understand, that he still persisted in his resolution of going in person to Ireland. He desired they would make a settlement of the revenue, or establish it for the present, as a fund of credit, upon which the necessary sums for the service of the government might be immediately advanced: he signified his intention of sending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might manifest his readiness to extend his protection to all his subjects, and leave no colour of excuse for raising disturbances in his absence, as he knew how busy some ill-affected men were in their endeavours to alter the established government; he recommended an union with Scotland, the Parliament of which had appointed commissioners for that purpose: he told them he should leave the administration in the hands of the Queen, and desired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them to dispatch the business for which they were assembled, to avoid debates, and expressed his

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Burnet. Belcarres. Kennet. Tindal. Ralph.

BOOK I. hope that they should soon meet again, to finish what might be now left imperfect.

1690. § XXIII. The Commons, in compliance with his request, voted a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds, one million of that sum to be raised by a clause of credit in the revenue bills; but he could not prevail upon them to settle the revenue for life. They granted, however, the hereditary excise for that term, but the customs for four years only. They considered this short term as the best security the kingdom could have for frequent Parliaments; though this precaution was not at all agreeable to their sovereign. A poll-bill was likewise passed; other supplies were granted, and both parties seemed to court his Majesty, by advancing money on those funds of credit. The Whigs, however, had another battery in reserve. They produced, in the Upper House, a bill for recognizing their Majesties as the rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms, and for declaring all the acts of the last Parliament to be good and valid. The Tories were now reduced to a very perplexed situation. They could not oppose the bill without hazarding the interest they had so lately acquired, nor assent to it without solemnly renouncing their former arguments and distinctions. They made no great objections to the first part, and even proposed to enact, That those should be deemed good laws for the time to come; but they refused to declare them valid for that which was past. After a long debate, the bill was committed; yet the Whigs lost their majority on the report; nevertheless, the bill was recovered, and passed with some alteration in the words; in consequence of a nervous, spirited protest, signed Bolton, Macclesfield, Stamford, Newport, Bedford, Herbert, Suffolk, Monmouth, Delamere, and Oxford. The whole interest of the court was thrown into the scale with this bill, before it could preponderate against the Tories, the chiefs of whom, with the Earl of Nottingham at their head,

head, protested in their turn. The same party in the House of Commons were determined upon a vigorous opposition; and in the mean time some trifling objections were made, that it might be committed for amendment; but their design was prematurely discovered by one of their faction, who chanced to question their legality of the Convention, as it was not summoned by the King's writ. This insinuation was answered by Somers, the Solicitor-General, who observed, that if it was not a legal Parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that Parliament, were guilty of high-treason: the laws repealed by it were still in force: it was their duty, therefore, to return to King James; and all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that Parliament were highly criminal. The Tories were so struck with these arguments, that the bill passed without further opposition, and immediately received the royal assent. Thus the settlement was confirmed by those very people who had so loudly exclaimed against it as illegal: but the Whigs, with all their management, would not have gained their point, had not the Court been interested in the dispute.

§ XXIV. There was another violent contest between the two parties, on the import of a bill requiring all subjects in office to abjure King James, on pain of imprisonment. Though the clergy were at first exempted from this test, the main body of the Tories opposed it with great vehemence; while the Whigs, under countenance of the ministry, supported it with equal vigour. It produced long and violent debates; and the two factions seemed pretty equally balanced. At length, the Tories represented to the King, that a great deal of precious time would be lost in fruitless altercation; that those who declared against the bill would grow sullen and intractable, so as to oppose every other motion that might

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might be made for the King's service: that, in case of its being carried, his Majesty must fall again into the hands of the Whigs, who would renew their former practices against the prerogative; and many individuals, who were now either well affected to him, or at least neutral, would become Jacobites from resentment. These suggestions had such weight with King William, that he sent an intimation to the Commons, desiring they would drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more pressing. The Whigs in general were disgusted at this interposition; and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who interested himself warmly in behalf of the bill, resented it so deeply, that he insisted on resigning his office of Secretary of State. The King, who revered his talents and integrity, employed Dr. Tillotson and others, who were supposed to have credit with the Earl, to dissuade him from quitting his employment: but he continued deaf to all their remonstrances, and would not even comply with the request of his Majesty, who pressed him to keep the seals until he should return from Ireland. Long debates were likewise managed in the House of Lords, upon the bill of abjuration, or rather an oath of special fidelity to William, in opposition to James. The Tories professed themselves willing to enter into a negative engagement against the late King and his adherents: but they opposed the oath of abjuration with all their might; and the House was so equally divided that neither side was willing to hazard a decision: so that all the fruit of their debates was a prolongation of the session.

§ XXV. An act was prepared for investing the Queen with the administration during the King's absence: another for reversing the judgment on a *Quo Warranto* against the city of London, and restoring it to its ancient rights and privileges; and at length, the bill of indemnity so cordially recommended

mended by the King passed both Houses.* On the twenty-first day of May, the King closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the supplies they had granted; and recommended to them a punctual discharge of their duties in their respective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be interrupted in his absence. The Houses were adjourned to the seventh day of July; when the Parliament was prorogued and adjourned successively. As a further security for the peace of the kingdom, the deputy-lieutenants were authorised to raise the militia in case of necessity. All Papists were prohibited to stir above five miles from their respective places of abode: a proclamation was published for apprehending certain disaffected persons: Sir John Cochran and Ferguson were actually arrested, on suspicion of treasonable practices. On the fourth day of June the King set out for Ireland, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester, and many other persons of distinction; on the fourteenth day of the month he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the Duke of Schomberg, the Prince of Wirtemberg, Major-General Kirke, and other officers. By this time Colonel Wolsey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belturbat; Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-castle; and that of Charlemont, a strong post of great im-

* The following persons were excepted from the benefit of this act. William, Marquis of Powis; Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon; Robert, Earl of Sunderland; John, Earl of Melford; Roger, Earl of Castlemain; Nathaniel, Lord Bishop of Durham; Thomas, Lord Bishop of St. David's; Henry, Lord Dover; Lord Thomas Howard; Sir Edward Hales, Sir Francis Withers, Sir Edward Lutwych, Sir Thomas Jenner, Sir Nicholas Butler, Sir William Herbert, Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Richard Heath, Sir Roger L'Estrange, William Molineux, Thomas Tyndesly, Colonel Townly, Colonel Lundy, Robert Brent, Edward Morgan, Philip Burton, Richard Graham, Edward Petre, Obadiah Walker, Mathew Crone, and George Lord Jefferies, deceased.

portance,

BOOK I. portance, together with Balingargy, near Cavan, had been reduced. King William having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the Duke's head-quarters at Lisburne: then advanced to Hillsborough, published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country-people. When some of his general-officers proposed cautious measures, he declared he did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp and be reviewed at Loughbrilland, when he found it amount to six-and-thirty thousand effective men well appointed. Then he marched to Dundalk; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the enemy had just abandoned.

1690.

§ XXVI. King James trusted so much to the disputes in the English Parliament, that he did not believe his son-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom; and William had been six days in Ireland, before he received intimation of his arrival. This was no sooner known, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia commanded by Luttrel; and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which now almost equalled William's army in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men who remained in different garrisons. He occupied a very advantageous post on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the advice of his general officers, resolved to stand battle. They proposed to strengthen their garrisons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at sea. Louis had promised to equip a powerful armament against the English fleet, and send over a great number of small frigates to destroy William's transports, as soon as their convoy should be returned to England. The execution of this scheme was not at all difficult, and must have proved fatal to the English army; for their stores and ammunition were still on board; the ships sailed along the coast

coast as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one secure harbour into which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expressed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Besides the river, which was deep, his front was secured by a morass and a rising ground: so that the English army could not attack him without manifest disadvantage. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XXVII. King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river, and, as he reconnoitered their situation, was exposed to the fire of some field pieces, which the enemy purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by him; and the second bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his clothes and skin, and produce a considerable contusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp resounded with acclamation; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to pass it immediately and attack the English army. The report was instantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin; from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the line to show himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war; and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed his design; but finding the King determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane-bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass of

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Duleck, that the action might be the more decisive. This council being rejected, the King determined, that, early in the morning, Lieutenant General Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg, with the horse, should pass at Slane-bridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Old-bridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The Duke, perceiving his advice was not relished by the Dutch Generals, retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of discontent, saying it was the first that had ever been sent him in that manner. The proper dispositions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given orders for the soldiers to distinguish themselves from the enemy, by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

§ XXVIII. At six o'clock in the morning, General Douglas, with young Schomberg, the Earl of Portland, and Auverquerque, marched towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the further bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their front; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry was led on to the charge through the morass, while Count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck with some precipitation; yet not so fast, but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did considerable execution. King James, however, soon reinforced his left wing from the centre; and the Count was in his turn obliged to send for assistance. At this juncture, King William's main body, consisting of the Dutch guards,

guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist high, under a general discharge of artillery. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other side; but he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. These poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore: but it produced very little effect: then the Irish gave way; and some battalions landed without further opposition. Yet, before they could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by a squadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by General Hamilton, advanced from behind some little hillocks to attack those that were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but the horse charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, so as to put the unformed regiments in confusion. Then the Duke of Schomberg passed the river in person, put himself at the head of the French Protestants, and pointing to the enemy; "Gentlemen, (said he,) those are your per-"secutors:" with these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset from a party of the Irish horse, which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the Duke, who received two severe wounds in the head: but the French regiments being now sensible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the Duke; and instead of saving, shot him dead upon the spot. The fate of this General had well nigh proved fatal to the English army, which was immediatey involved in tumult and disorder; while the infantry of King James rallied, and returned to their posts with a face

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of resolution. They were just ready to fall upon the centre, when King William having passed with the left wing, composed of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillin horse, advanced to attack them on the right. They were struck with such a panick at his appearance, that they made a sudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunmore. There they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the King in person, recoiled; even the Inniskilliners gave way; and the whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons, belonging to the regiments of Cunningham and Levison, dismounted, and lined the hedges on each side of the defile through which the fugitives were driven. There they did such execution upon the pursuers, as soon checked their ardour. The horse, which were broken, had now time to rally, and, returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action General Hamilton, who had been the life and soul of the Irish during the whole engagement, was wounded and taken: an incident which discouraged them to such a degree, that they made no further efforts to retrieve the advantage they had lost. He was immediately brought to the King, who asked him if he thought the Irish would make any further resistance; and he replied, "Upon my honour, I believe they will; for they have still a good body of horse entire." William, eyeing him with a look of disdain, repeated, "Your "honour! your honour!" but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promise of persuading Tyrconnel to submit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field with precipitation: but the French and Swiss troops, that acted as their auxiliaries, under Lauzun, retreated in good order, after having maintained the

the battle for some time with intrepidity and perseverance. CHAP. II.

§ XXIX. As King William did not think proper to pursue the enemy, the carnage was not great. The Irish lost fifteen hundred men, and the English about one third of that number; though the victory was dearly purchased, considering the death of the gallant Duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age, after having rivalled the best Generals of the time in military reputation. He was descended of a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an English woman, daughter of Lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country, on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a soldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburg. He attained to the dignities of Mareschal in France, Grandee in Portugal, Generalissimo in Prussia, and Duke in England. He professed the Protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment; cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewise proved fatal to the brave Caillemote, who had followed the Duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the Protestant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four soldiers, and though almost in the agonies of death, he with a chearful countenance encouraged those who were crossing to do their duty, exclaiming, "*A la gloire, mes enfans; à la gloire!* To glory, my lads; to glory!" The third remarkable person who lost his life on this occasion, was Walker the Clergyman, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of King James. He had been very graciously received by King William, who gratified him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and a promise of further favour; but, his military genius still predominating, 1690.

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minating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and, being shot in the belly, died in a few minutes. The persons of distinction who fell on the other side were the Lords Dongan and Carlingford; Sir Neile O'Neile, and the Marquis of Hocquincourt. James himself stood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and seeing victory declare against him, retired to Dublin, without having made the least effort to re-assemble his broken forces. Had he possessed either spirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied and reinforced from his garrisons, so as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offensive; for his loss was inconsiderable, and the victor did not attempt to molest his troops in their retreat—an omission which has been charged upon him as a flagrant instance of misconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, William's personal courage was much more conspicuous than his military skill.

§ XXX. King James no sooner arrived at Dublin, than he assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech resigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish; signified his resolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbade them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and assured them, that, though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance. Next day he set out for Waterford, attended by the Duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the Marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, and embarked in a vessel which had been prepared for his reception. At sea he fell in with the French squadron, commanded by the Sieur de Foran, who persuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime sailer. In this he was safely conveyed to France, and returned to the place of his former

former residence at St. Germain's. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was also abandoned by all the Papists. The Protestants immediately took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the bishops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the administration: and an account of these transactions was transmitted to King William, together with a petition, that he would honour the city with his presence. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XXXI. On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William sent a detachment of horse and foot, under the command of M. Mellionere, to Drogheda, the governor of which surrendered the place without opposition. The King, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the first night at Bally-Breghan, where, having received advice of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he sent the Duke of Ormond, with a body of horse, to take possession. These were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who secured the castle. In a few days the King encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where he was visited by the bishops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the Protestant clergy, whom he assured of his favour and protection. Then he published a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had served against him, provided they should return to their dwellings, and surrender their arms by the first day of August. Those that rented lands of popish proprietors, who had been concerned in the rebellion, were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they should have notice from the commissioners of the revenue to whom they should be paid. The desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorised the depredations which had been committed upon Protestants, and rejected the pardon offered to them on the King's first proclamation, were left to the

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the event of war, unless by evident demonstrations of repentance they should deserve mercy, which would never be refused to those who were truly penitent. The next step taken by King William was to issue a proclamation, reducing the brass money to nearly its intrinsick value. In the mean time, the principal officers in the army of James, after having seen him embark at Waterford, returned to their troops, determined to prosecute the war as long as they could be supplied with means to support their operations.

§ XXXII. During these transactions, the Queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, who did not always act with unanimity. She was distracted between her apprehensions for her father's safety and her husband's life: she was threatened with an invasion by the French from abroad, and with an insurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheless, she disguised her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to sail from Brest, Lord Torrington hoisted his flag in the Downs, and sailed round to St. Helen's, in order to assemble such a number of ships as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day of June, the English Admiral, reinforced with a Dutch squadron, stood out to sea, with a view to intercept them at the back of the Isle of Wight, should they presume to sail up the channel: not that he thought himself strong enough to cope with them in battle. Their fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two-and-twenty fireships; whereas, the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed six-and-fifty; but he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of success. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, Lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-

Beachy-head, on the thirtieth day of June, at day-break. The Dutch squadron which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning: in about half an hour the blue division of the English were close engaged with the rear of the French: but the red, which formed the centre, under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock, so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy, and though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length, the Admiral's division drove between them and the French, and in that situation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he, therefore, weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. The next day the disabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were pursued as far as Rye; an English ship of seventy guns being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire, and deserted, by the Captain's command. A Dutch ship of sixty-four guns met with the same accident, and some French frigates attempted to burn her; but the Captain defended her so vigorously that they were obliged to desist, and he afterwards found means to carry her safe to Holland. In this engagement the English lost two ships, two sea-captains, and about four hundred men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate: Six of their great ships were destroyed. Dick and Brackel, Rear-Admirals, were slain, together with a great number of inferior officers and seamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames; and, having taken precautions against any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were overwhelmed with consternation.

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§ XXXIII. The government was infected with the same panick. The ministry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malcontents of the nation, that insurrections in the different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. These insinuations were circulated by the court-agents, in order to justify, in the opinion of the publick, the measures that were deemed necessary at this juncture; and they produced the desired effect. The apprehensions thus artfully raised among the people inflamed their aversion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addresses were presented to the Queen by the Cornish tinners, by the Lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Lieutenancy of London, filled with professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their Majesties, as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The Queen, at this crisis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the States-General, who exclaimed against the Earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower; and commissioners were appointed to examine the particular circumstances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a small village called Tingmouth. About a thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burned a few coasting vessels; then they re-embarked, and returned to Brest, so vain of this achievement, that they printed a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the Whig partisans published pamphlets, and diffused reports, implying,

implying, that the suspended bishops were concerned in the conspiracy against the government; and these arts proved so inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it necessary to print a paper, in which they asserted their innocence in the most solemn protestations. The court seems to have harboured no suspicion against them, otherwise they would not have escaped imprisonment. The Queen issued a proclamation for apprehending the Earls of Lichfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain; Viscount Preston; the Lords Montgomery and Bellasis; Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Tharold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers. These were accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons to disturb and destroy the government, and of a design to concur with her Majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The Earl of Torrington continued a prisoner in the Tower till next session, when he was brought into the House of Commons, and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced long debates in the Upper House, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: at length he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commissioners of the Admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a Lord High-Admiral vested in those commissioners. The President of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as Vice-Admiral of the Blue in the engagement. The Earl was acquitted, but the King dismissed him from the service: and the Dutch exclaimed against the partiality of his judges. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XXXIV. William is said to have intercepted all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel; and to have learned from them, not only the design projected by the French to burn the English transports, but likewise the undertaking of one Jones, who engaged to assassinate King William. No such

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attempt, however, was made, and, in all probability, the whole report was a fiction, calculated to throw an odium on James's character. On the ninth day of July, William detached General Douglas with a considerable body of horse and foot towards Athlone, while he himself, having left Trelawney to command at Dublin, advanced with the rest of his army to Inchiquin, in his way to Kilkenny. Colonel Grace, the governor of Athlone for King James, being summoned to surrender, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, saying, "These are my terms." Then Douglas resolved to undertake the siege of the place, which was naturally very strong, and defended by a resolute garrison. An inconsiderable breach was made, when Douglas, receiving intelligence that Sarsfield was on his march to the relief of the besieged, abandoned the enterprise, after having lost above four hundred men in the attempt. The King continued his march to the westward; and, by dint of severe examples, established such order and discipline in his army, that the peasants were secure from the least violence. At Carlow he detached the Duke of Ormond to take possession of Kilkenny, where that nobleman regaled him in his own castle, which the enemy had left undamaged. While the army encamped at Carrick, Major-General Kirke was sent to Waterford, the garrison of which, consisting of two regiments, capitulated, upon condition of marching out with their arms and baggage; and being conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon was surrendered on the same terms. Here the Lord Dover and the Lord George Howard were admitted to the benefit of the King's mercy and protection.

§ XXXV. On the first day of August, William being at Chapel-Izard, published a second declaration of mercy, confirming the former, and even extending it to persons of superior rank and station, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would,

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by the twenty-fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, and submit to certain conditions. This offer of indemnity produced very little effect; for the Irish were generally governed by their priests, and the news of the victory which the French fleet had obtained over the English and Dutch was circulated with such exaggerations as elevated their spirits, and effaced all thoughts of submission. The King had returned to Dublin, with a view to embark for England; but receiving notice that the designs of his domestick enemies were discovered and frustrated, that the fleet was repaired, and the French navy retired to Brest, he postponed his voyage, and resolved to reduce Limerick; in which Monsieur Boisseleau commanded as Governor, and the Duke of Berwick and Colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers. On the ninth day of August, the King having called in his detachment, and advanced into the neighbourhood of the place, summoned the commander to deliver the town; and Boisseleau answered, that he imagined the best way to gain the good opinion of the Prince of Orange would be a vigorous defence of the town which his Majesty had committed to his charge. Before the place was fully invested, Colonel Sarsfield, with a body of horse and dragoons, passed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the King's train of artillery on its way to the camp, routed the troops that guarded it, disabled the cannon, destroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned in safety to Limerick. Notwithstanding this disaster, the trenches were opened on the seventeenth day of the month, and a battery was raised with some cannon brought from Waterford. The siege was carried on with vigour, and the place defended with great resolution. At length the King ordered his troops to make a lodgement in the covered way or counterscarp, which was accordingly assaulted with great fury: but the assailants met with such a warm reception from the besieged,

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§ XXXVI. About the latter end of this month the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Ireland, with five thousand English troops to attack Cork and Kinsale, in conjunction with a detachment from the great army, according to a scheme he had proposed to King William. Having landed his soldiers without much opposition in the neighbourhood of Cork, he was joined by five thousand men, under the Prince of Wirtemberg, between whom and the Earl a dispute arose about the command: but this was compromised by the interposition of La Melliorere. The place being invested, and the batteries raised, the besiegers proceeded with such rapidity that a breach was soon effected. Colonel Mackillicut, the governor, demanded a parley, and hostages were exchanged; but he rejected the conditions that were offered, and hostilities recommenced with redoubled vigour. The Duke of Grafton, who served on this occasion as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died regretted as a youth of promising talents. Preparations being made for a general assault, the besieged thought proper to capitulate, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Besides the Governor and

and Colonel Ricaut, the victor found the Earls of Clancarte and Tyrone among the individuals of the garrison. Marlborough having taken possession of Cork, detached Brigadier Villiers with a body of horse and dragoons to summon the town and forts of Kinsale, and next day advanced with the rest of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by assault; but Sir Edward Scott, who commanded the other, sustained a regular siege, until the breach was practicable, and then obtained an honourable capitulation. These maritime places being reduced, all communication between France and the enemy, on this side of the island, was cut off, and the Irish were confined to Ulster, where they could not subsist without great difficulty. The Earl of Marlborough having finished this expedition in thirty-days, returned with his prisoners to England, where the fame of this exploit added greatly to his reputation.

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§ XXXVII. During these transactions, Count de Lauzun, commander of the French auxiliaries in Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and transmitted such a lamentable account of his situation to the court of France, that transports were sent over to bring home the French forces. In these he embarked with his troops, and the command of the Irish forces devolved to the Duke of Berwick, though it was afterwards transferred to M. St. Ruth. Lauzun was disgraced at Versailles for having deserted the cause before it was desperate: Tyrconnel, who accompanied him in his voyage, solicited the French court for a further supply of officers, arms, clothes, and ammunition for the Irish army, which he said would continue firm to the interest of King James, if thus supported. Mean while they formed themselves into separate bodies of freebooters, and plundered the country, under the appellation of Rapparies: while the troops of King William either enjoyed their ease in quarters,

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or imitated the rapine of the enemy; so that, between both, the poor people were miserably harassed.

§ XXXVIII. The affairs of the continent had not yet undergone any change of importance, except in the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, who renounced his neutrality, engaged in an alliance with the Emperor and King of Spain; and, in a word, acceded to the grand confederacy. He had no sooner declared himself than Catinat, the French General, entered his territories at the head of eighteen thousand men, and defeated him in a pitched battle near Salúces, which immediately surrendered to the conqueror. Then he reduced Savillana, Villa Franca, with several other places, pursued the Duke to Carignan, surprised Suza, and distributed his forces in winter-quarters, partly in Provence, and partly in the duchy of Savoy, which St. Ruth had lately reduced under the dominion of France. The Duke finding himself disappointed in the succours he expected from the Emperor and the King of Spain, demanded assistance of the States-General and King William: to this last he sent an ambassador, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne of England. The Confederates in their General Congress at the Hague, had agreed that the army of the States under Prince Waldeck should oppose the forces of France, commanded by the Duke of Luxembourg in Flanders; while the Elector of Brandenburgh should observe the Marquis de Boufflers on the Moselle; but, before the troops of Brandenburgh could be assembled, Boufflers encamped between the Sambre and the Meuse, and maintained a free communication with Luxembourg.

§ XXXIX. Prince Waldeck understanding that this General intended to cross the Sambre between Namur and Charleroy, in order to lay the Spanish territories under contribution, decamped from the river *Pieton*, and detached the Count of Berlo, with a great

a great body of horse, to observe the motions of the enemy. He was encountered by the French army near Fleurus, and slain; and his troops, though supported by two other detachments, were hardly able to rejoin the main body, which continued all night in order of battle. Next day they were attacked by the French, who were greatly superior to them in number: after a very obstinate engagement the Allies gave way, leaving about five thousand men dead upon the field of battle. The enemy took about four thousand prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery; but the victory was dearly bought. The Dutch infantry fought with surprizing resolution and success. The Duke of Luxembourg owned, with surprize, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot, at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck (said "he) ought always to remember the French horse; "and I shall never forget the Dutch infantry." The Dutch general exerted himself with such activity, that the French derived very little advantage from their victory. The Prince being reinforced with the five English regiments, nine thousand Hanoverians, ten thousand from the Bishoprick of Liege and Holland, joined the Elector of Brandenburgh; so that the confederate army amounted to five-and-fifty thousand men, and they marched by the way of Genap to Bois-Seigneur-Isaac. They were now superior to Luxembourg, who thought proper to fortify his camp, that he might not be obliged to fight, except with considerable advantage. Nevertheless, Prince Waldeck would have attacked him in his entrenchments, had he not been prohibited from hazarding another engagement, by an express order of the States-General; and, when this restriction was removed, the Elector would not venture a battle.

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§. XL. By this time the Emperor's son Joseph was by the Electoral College chosen King of the Romans; but his interest sustained a rude shock in the

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the death of the gallant Duke of Lorraine, who was suddenly seized with a quinsey, at a small village near Lintz, and expired, not without suspicion of having fallen a sacrifice to the fears of the French King, against whom he had formerly declared war, as a sovereign Prince unjustly expelled from his territories. He possessed great military talents, and had threatened to enter Lorraine, at the head of forty thousand men, in the course of the ensuing summer. The court of France, alarmed at this declaration, is said to have had recourse to poison, for preventing the execution of the Duke's design. At his death the command of the Imperial army was conferred upon the Elector of Bavaria. This Prince, having joined the Elector of Saxony, advanced against the Dauphin, who had passed the Rhine at Fort-Louis, with a considerable army, and intended to penetrate into Wirtemberg; but the Duke of Bavaria checked his progress, and he acted on the defensive during the remaining part of the campaign. The Emperor was less fortunate in his efforts against the Turks, who rejected the conditions of peace he had offered, and took the field, under a new Visir. In the month of August, Count Tekeli defeated a body of Imperialists near Cronstadt, in Transylvania; then convoking the States of that province at Albajulia, he compelled them to elect him their sovereign; but his reign was of short duration. Prince Louis, of Baden, having taken the command of the Austrian army, detached four regiments into Belgrade, and advanced against Tekeli, who retired into Valachia, at his approach. Mean while, the Grand Visir invested Belgrade, and carried on his attacks with surprising resolution. At length, a bomb falling upon a great tower, in which the powder-magazine of the besieged was contained, the place blew up with a dreadful explosion. Seventeen hundred soldiers of the garrison were destroyed; the walls and ramparts were overthrown; the ditch was filled up,

and so large a breach was opened, that the Turks entered by squadrons and battalions, cutting in pieces all that fell in their way. The fire spread from magazine to magazine until eleven were destroyed; and, in the confusion, the remaining part of the garrison escaped to Peterwaradin. By this time the Imperialists were in possession of Transylvania, and cantoned at Cronstadt and Clausenburgh. Tekeli undertook to attack the province on one side, while a body of Turks should invade it on the other: these last were totally dispersed by Prince Louis of Baden: but Prince Augustus of Hanover, whom he had detached against the Count, was slain in a narrow defile, and his troops were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Tekeli, however, did not improve this advantage. Being apprized of the fate of his allies, and afraid of seeing his retreat cut off by the snow, that frequently choaks up the passes of the mountains, he retreated again to Valachia, and Prince Louis returned to Vienna. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XLI. King William having published a proclamation, requiring the attendance of the members on the second day of October, both Houses met accordingly, and he opened the session with a speech to the usual purport. He mentioned what he had done towards the reduction of Ireland; commended the behaviour of the troops; told them the supplies were not equal to the necessary expence; represented the danger to which the nation would be exposed, unless the war should be prosecuted with vigour; conjured them to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to pay off the arrears of the army; assured them that the success of the confederacy abroad would depend upon the vigour and dispatch of their proceedings; expressed his resentment against those who had been guilty of misconduct in the management of the fleet; recommended unanimity and expedition; and declared, that whoever should attempt to divert their

attention

BOOK I. 1690.

attention from those subjects of importance which he had proposed, could neither be a friend to him, nor a well-wisher to his country. The late attempt of the French upon the coast of England, the rumours of a conspiracy by the Jacobites, the personal valour which William had displayed in Ireland, and the pusillanimous behaviour of James, concurred in warming the resentment of the nation against the adherents of the late King, and in raising a tide of loyalty in favour of the new government. Both Houses presented separate addresses of congratulation to the King and Queen, upon his courage and conduct in the field, and her fortitude and sagacity at the helm, in times of danger and disquiet. The Commons, pursuant to an estimate laid before them of the next year's expences, voted a supply of four millions for the maintenance of the army and navy, and settled the funds for that purpose.

§ XLII. They proposed to raise one million by the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland: they resolved that a bill should be brought in for confiscating those estates, with a clause, empowering the King to bestow a third part of them on those who had served in the war, as well as to grant such articles and capitulations to those who were in arms, as he should think proper. This clause was rejected; and a great number of petitions were offered against the bill, by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful to the government. These were supposed to have been suggested by the Court, in order to retard the progress of the bill; for the estates had been already promised to the King's favourites: nevertheless, the bill passed the Lower House, and was sent up to the Lords, among whom it was purposely delayed by the influence of the Ministry. It was at this juncture that Lord Torrington was tried and acquitted, very much to the dissatisfaction of the King, who not only dismissed him from the service, but even forbade him to appear in his presence. When William came

came to the House of Lords, to give the royal assent to a bill for doubling the Excise, he told the Parliament, that the posture of affairs required his presence at the Hague; that, therefore, they ought to lose no time in perfecting such other supplies as were still necessary for the maintenance of the army and navy; and he reminded them of making some provision for the expence of the civil government. Two bills were accordingly passed for granting to their Majesties the duties on goods imported, for five years; and these, together with the mutiny-bill, received the royal assent: upon which occasion the King observed, that if some annual provision could be made for augmenting the navy, it would greatly conduce to the honour and safety of the nation. In consequence of this hint, they voted a considerable supply for building additional ships of war*, and proceeded with such alacrity and expedition, as even seemed to anticipate the King's desires. This liberality and dispatch were in a great measure owing to the management of Lord Godolphin, who was now placed at the head of the Treasury, and Sir John Somers, the Solicitor-General. The place of Secretary of State, which had remained vacant since the resignation of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was now filled with Lord Sydney; and Sir Charles Porter was appointed one of the Justices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XLIII. Notwithstanding the act for revising the proceedings against the city-charter, the Whigs had made shift to keep possession of the magistracy: Pilkington continued Mayor, and Robinson retained

* This supply was raised by the additional duties upon beer, ale, and other liquors. They also provided in the bill, that the impositions on wines, vinegar, and tobacco, should be made a fund of credit: That the surplus of the grants they had made, after the current service was provided for, should be applicable to the payment of the debts contracted by the war: and, That it should be lawful for their Majesties to make use of five hundred thousand pounds, out of the said grants, on condition of that sum being repaid from the revenue.—Ralph.

the

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the office of Chamberlain. The Tories of the city, presuming upon their late services, presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining, That the intent of the late act of Parliament, for reversing the judgment on the *Quo Warranto* was frustrated by some doubtful expression; so that the old Aldermen elected by commission under the late King's great seal still acted by virtue of that authority: That Sir Thomas Pilkington was not duly returned as Mayor by the Common-hall; and, That he and the Aldermen had imposed Mr. Leonard Robinson upon them as Chamberlain, though another person was duly elected into that office: That divers members of the Common-council were illegally excluded, and others, duly elected, were refused admittance. They specified other grievances, and petitioned for relief. Pilkington and his associates undertook to prove that those allegations were either false or frivolous; and represented the petition as a contrivance of the Jacobites, to disturb the peace of the city, that the supply might be retarded, and the government distressed. In the late panick which overspread the nation, the Whigs had appeared to be the monied men, and subscribed largely for the security of the settlement they had made, while the Tories kept aloof with a suspicious caution. For this reason the Court now interposed its influence in such a manner, that little or no regard was paid to their remonstrance.

§ XLIV. The Marquis of Carmarthen, Lord President, who was at the head of the Tory interest in the ministry, and had acquired great credit with the King and Queen, now fell under the displeasure of the opposite faction; and they resolved, if possible, to revive his old impeachment. The Earl of Shrewsbury, and thirteen other leading men, had engaged in this design. A committee of Lords was appointed to examine precedents, and inquire whether impeachments continued *in statu quo* from Parliament

liament to Parliament. Several such precedents were reported; and violent debates ensued: but the Marquis eluded the vengeance of his enemies, in consequence of the following question: "Whether the "Earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, who had "been impeached in the former Parliament, for "being reconciled to the Church of Rome, shall "be discharged from their bail?" The House resolved in the affirmative, and several Lords entered a protest. The Commons having finished a bill for appointing Commissioners to take and state the publick accounts, and having chosen the Commissioners from among their own members, sent it up to the House of Lords. There the Earl of Rochester moved, That they should add some of their number to those of the Commons: they accordingly chose an equal number by ballot; but Rochester himself being elected, refused to act: the others followed his example, and the bill passed without alteration. On the fifth day of January, the King put an end to the session with a speech, in which he thanked them for the repeated instances they had exhibited of their affection to his person and government. He told them, it was high time for him to embark for Holland; recommended unanimity; and assured them of his particular favour and protection. Then Lord Chief Baron Atkins signified his Majesty's pleasure, that the two Houses should adjourn themselves to the thirty-first day of March*.

CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XLV. William, having settled the affairs of the nation, set out for Margate on the sixth day of January; but the ship in which he proposed to embark being detained by an easterly wind and hard frost, he returned to Kensington. On the sixteenth, however, he embarked at Gravesend with a numerous retinue, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of

An. 1691.

* In this year the English planters re-possessed themselves of part of the island of St. Christopher's, from which they had been driven by the French.

twelve

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twelve ships of war, commanded by Admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fisherman that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yacht, and went into an open boat, attended by the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, with Auverquerque and Zuylestein. Instead of landing immediately, they lost sight of the fleet, and, night coming on, were exposed in very severe weather to the danger of the enemy and the sea, which ran very high for eighteen hours, during which the King and all his attendants were drenched with sea-water. When the sailors expressed their apprehensions of perishing, the King asked if they were afraid to die in his company? At day-break, he landed on the Isle of Goree, where he took some refreshment in a fisherman's hut: then he committed himself to the boat again, and was conveyed to the shore in the neighbourhood of Measlandsluys. A deputation of the States received him at Hounslardyke: about six in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the States-General, the States of Holland, the Council of State, the other Colleges, and the Foreign Ministers. He afterwards, at the request of the Magistrates, made his publick entry with surprizing magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He assisted at their different assemblies; informed them of his successes in England and Ireland; and assured them of his constant zeal and affection for his native country.

§ XLVI. At a solemn congress of the confederate Princes, he represented, in a set speech, the dangers to which they were exposed from the power and ambition of France; and the necessity of acting with vigour and dispatch. He declared he would spare neither his credit, forces, nor person, in concurring with their measures; and that in the spring he would come

come at the head of his troops to fulfil his engagements. They forthwith resolved to employ two hundred and twenty-two thousand men against France in the ensuing campaign. The proportions of the different Princes and states were regulated; and the King of England agreed to furnish twenty thousand. He supplied the Duke of Savoy so liberally, that his affairs soon assumed a more promising aspect. The plan of operations was settled, and they transacted their affairs with such harmony, that no dispute interrupted their deliberations. In the beginning of March, immediately after the Congress broke up, the siege of Mons was undertaken by the French King in person, accompanied by the Dauphin, the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The garrison consisted of about six thousand men, commanded by the Prince of Bergue: but the besiegers carried on their works with such rapidity as they could not withstand. King William no sooner understood that the place was invested, than he ordered Prince Waldeck to assemble the army, determined to march against the enemy in person. Fifty thousand men were soon collected at Halle, near Brussels; but when he went thither, he found the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages, and other necessaries for the expedition. Mean while, the burghers of Mons, seeing their town in danger of being utterly destroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy, pressed the Governor to capitulate, and even threatened to introduce the besiegers: so that he was forced to comply, and obtained very honourable conditions. William, being apprised of this event, returned to the Hague, embarked for England, and arrived at Whitehall on the thirteenth day of April *.

CHAP. II. 1691.

* A few days before his arrival, great part of the palace of Whitehall was consumed by fire, through the negligence of a female servant.

CHAP. III.

I. *Conspiracy against the government by Lord Preston and others.* § II. *The King fills up the vacant bishopricks.* § III. *Affairs of Scotland.* § IV. *Campaign in Flanders.* § V. *Progress of the French in Piedmont.* § VI. *Election of a new Pope.* § VII. *The Emperor's success against the Turks.* § VIII. *Affairs of Ireland.* § IX. *General Ginckel reduces Athlone.* § X. *Defeats the Irish at Aghrim.* § XI. *Undertakes the siege of Limerick.* § XII. *The French and Irish obtain an honourable capitulation.* § XIII. *Twelve thousand Irish Catholicks are transported to France.* § XIV. *Meeting of the English Parliament.* § XV. *Discontent of the nation.* § XVI. *Transactions in Parliament.* § XVII. *Disputes concerning the bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason.* § XVIII. *The English and Dutch fleets worsted by the French in an engagement off Beachy-head.* § XIX. *The King disobliges the Presbyterians of Scotland.* § XX. *The Earl of Breadalbane undertakes for the submission of the Highlanders.* § XXI. *Massacre of Glencoe.* § XXII. *Preparations for a descent upon England.* § XXIII. *Declaration of King James.* § XXIV. *Efforts of his friends in England,* § XXV. *Precautions taken by the Queen for the defence of the nation.* § XXVI. *Admiral Russel puts to sea.* § XXVII. *He obtains a complete victory over the French fleet off La Hogue.* § XXVIII. *Troops embarked at St. Helen's for a descent upon France.* § XXIX. *The design laid aside. The troops landed at Ostend.* § XXX. *The French King takes Namur in sight of King William.* § XXXI. *The Allies are defeated at Steenkirk.* § XXXII. *Extravagant rejoicings in France on account of this victory.* § XXXIII. *Conspiracy against the life of King William, hatched by the French ministry.* § XXXIV. *Miscarriage of a design upon Dunkirk.*

Dunkirk. § XXXV. *The campaign is inactive on the Rhine and in Hungary.* § XXXVI. *The Duke of Savoy invades Dauphiné.* § XXXVII. *The Duke of Hanover created an Elector of the empire.*

§ I. A Conspiracy against the government had been lately discovered. In the latter end of December, the master of a vessel who lived at Barking, in Essex, informed the Marquis of Caermarthen, that his wife had let out one of his boats to carry over some persons to France; and that they would embark on the thirteenth day of the month. This intelligence being communicated to the King and Council, an order was sent to Captain Billop, to watch the motion of the vessel, and secure the passengers. He accordingly boarded her at Gravesend, and found in the hold Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late Queen, and one Elliot. He likewise seized a bundle of papers, some of which were scarce intelligible: among the rest, two letters, supposed to be written by Turner, Bishop of Ely, to King James and his Queen, under fictious names. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French King, to assist King James in re-ascending the throne, upon certain conditions, while William should be absent from the kingdom; but the scheme was ill laid, and countenanced but by a very few persons of consideration, among whom, the chiefs were the Earl of Clarendon, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Preston, his brother, Mr. Graham, and Penn, the famous Quaker. Notwithstanding the outcries which had been made against the severities of the late government, Preston, and his accomplice Ashton, were tried at the Old-Bailey for compassing the death of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary; and their trials were hurried on, without any regard to their petitions for delay. Lord Preston alleged, in his defence, that the treasons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middlesex, as

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laid in the indictment: that none of the witnesses declared he had any concern in hiring the vessel: that the papers were not found upon him: that there ought to be two credible witnesses to every fact, whereas, the whole proof against him rested on similitude of hands, and mere supposition. He was, nevertheless, found guilty. Ashton behaved with great intrepidity and composure. He owned his purpose of going to France, in pursuance of a promise he had made to General Wordon, who, on his death-bed, conjured him to go thither, and finish some affairs of consequence which he had left there depending; as well as with a view to recover a considerable sum of money due to himself. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him: he complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial: and called several persons to prove him a Protestant of exemplary piety and irreproachable morals. These circumstances had no weight with the court. He was brow-beaten by the bench, and found guilty by the jury, as he had the papers in his custody: yet there was no privity proved; and the Whig party themselves had often expressly declared that of all sorts of evidence, that of finding papers in a person's possession is the weakest, because no man can secure himself from such danger. Ashton suffered with equal courage and decorum. In a paper which he delivered to the Sheriff, he owned his attachment to King James; he witnessed to the birth of the Prince of Wales: denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his charge; complained of the hard measure he had met with from the judges and the jury, but forgave them in the sight of heaven. This man was celebrated by the Nonjurors as a martyr to loyalty: and they boldly affirmed, that his chief crime in the eyes of the government, was his having among his baggage an account of such evidence as would have been convincing

Burnet. State tracts. Burchet. Tindal. Ralph.

vincing to all the word, concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, which by a great number of people was believed suppositious*. Lord Preston obtained a pardon: Elliot was not tried, because no evidence appeared against him: the Earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and he was afterwards confined to his own house in the country; an indulgence, which he owed to his consanguinity with the Queen, who was his first cousin. The Bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn absconded; and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ II. This prelate's being concerned in a conspiracy, furnished the King with a plausible pretence for filling up the vacant bishopricks. The deprived bishops had been given to understand, that an act of Parliament might be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, provided they would perform their episcopal functions: but, as they declined this expedient, the King resolved to fill up their places at his return from Holland. Accordingly, the Archbishoprick of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Tillotson†, one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclesiasticks of the age, who did not accept of this promotion without great reluctance, because he foresaw that he should be exposed to the slander and malevolence of that party which espoused the cause of his predecessor. The other vacant sees were given to Divines of unblemished character; and the publick in general seemed very well satisfied

* To one of the pamphlets published on this occasion, is annexed a petition to the present government, in the name of King James's adherents, importing, that some grave and learned persons should be authorised to compile a treatise, showing the grounds of William's title; and declaring, that in case the performance should carry conviction along with it, they would submit to that title, as they had hitherto opposed it from a principle of conscience. The best answer that could be made to this summons was Locke's book upon government, which appeared at this period.—Ralph.

† Beveridge was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, Fowler to that of Glocester, Cumberland to Peterborough, Moor to Norwich, Grove to Chichester, and Patrick to Ely.

with

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with this exertion of the King's supremacy. The deprived bishops at first affected all the meekness of resignation. They remembered those shouts of popular approbation, by which they had been animated in the persecution they suffered under the late government; and they hoped the same cordial would support them in their present affliction: but, finding the nation cold in their concern, they determined to warm it by argument and declamation. The press groaned with the efforts of their learning and resentment; and every essay was answered by their opponents. The Nonjurors affirmed, that Christianity was a doctrine of the cross; that no pretence whatever could justify an insurrection against the Sovereign; that the primitive Christians thought it their indispensable duty to be passive under every invasion of their rights; and, that non-resistance was the doctrine of the English church, confirmed by all the sanctions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party not only supported the natural rights of mankind, and explained the use that might be made of the doctrine of non-resistance, in exciting fresh commotions, but they also argued, that if passive obedience was right in any instance, it was conclusively so with regard to the present government; for the obedience required by scripture was indiscriminate, "the powers that be, "are ordained of God—let every soul be subject "to the higher powers." From these texts they inferred, that the new oaths ought to be taken without scruple; and that those who refused them, concealed party under the cloak of conscience. On the other hand, the fallacy and treachery of this argument were demonstrated. They said, it levelled all distinctions of justice and duty; that those who taught such doctrines, attached themselves solely to possession, however unjustly acquired; that, if twenty different usurpers should succeed one another, they would recognise the last, notwithstanding the allegiance

giance they had so solemnly sworn to his predecessor, CHAP. III. 1691.
like the fawning spaniel that followed the thief who mounted his master's horse, after having murdered the right owner. They also denied the justice of a lay-deprivation, and with respect to church-government started the same distinctions "*De jure* and *De* "*facto*," which they had formerly made in the civil administration. They had even recourse to all the bitterness of invective against Tillotson and the new bishops, whom they reviled as intruders and usurpers: their acrimony was chiefly directed against Dr. Sherlock, who had been one of the most violent sticklers against the Revolution, but thought proper to take the oaths upon the retreat of King James from Ireland. They branded him as an apostate, who had betrayed his cause, and published a review of his whole conduct, which proved a severe satire upon his character. Their attacks upon individuals were mingled with their vengeance against the government; and indeed the great aim of their divines, as well as of their politicians, was to sap the foundation of the new settlement. In order to alienate the minds of the people from the interest of the reigning prince, they ridiculed his character: inveighed against his measures: they accused him of sacrificing the concerns of England to the advantage of his native country; and drew invidious comparisons between the wealth, the trade, the taxes, of the last and of the present reign. To frustrate these efforts of the malcontents, the Court employed their engines to answer and recriminate; all sorts of informers were encouraged and caressed: in a proclamation issued against Papists and other disaffected persons, all magistrates were enjoined to make search, and apprehend those who should, by seditious discourses and libels, presume to defame the government. Thus the revolutioners commenced the professed enemies of those very arts and practices

BOOK I. practices which had enabled them to bring their scheme to perfection.

1691. § III. The Presbyterians in Scotland acted with such folly, violence, and tyranny, as rendered them equally odious and contemptible. The transactions in their general Assembly were carried on with such peevishness, partiality, and injustice, that the King dissolved it by an act of state, and convoked another from the month of November in the following year. The episcopal party promised to enter heartily into the interests of the new government, to keep the Highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknowledge and serve King William, provided he would balance the power of Melvil and his partisans, in such a manner, as would secure them from violence and oppression; provided the episcopal ministers should be permitted to perform their functions among those people by whom they were beloved; and that such of them as were willing to mix with the Presbyterians in their judicatories, should be admitted without any severe imposition in point of opinion. The King, who was extremely disgusted at the Presbyterians, relished the proposal; and young Dalrymple, son of Lord Stair, was appointed joint secretary of state with Melvil. He undertook to bring over the majority of the Jacobites, and a great number of them took the oaths; but at the same time they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germains, by the connivance of which they submitted to William, that they might be in a condition to serve James the more effectually. The Scottish Parliament was adjourned by proclamation to the sixteenth day of September. Precautions were taken to prevent any dangerous communication with the continent: a committee was appointed to put the kingdom in a posture of defence; to exercise the powers of the Regency, in securing the enemies of the government; and the

Earl

Earl of Home; with Sir Peter Fraser and Sir Æneas Macpherson, were apprehended and imprisoned. CHAP. III.

§ IV. The King, having settled the operations of the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where General Ginckel exercised the supreme command, manned his fleet by dint of pressing sailors, to the incredible annoyance of commerce: then, leaving the Queen as before at the helm of government in England, he returned to Holland, accompanied by Lord Sydney, secretary of state, the Earls of Marlborough and Portland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in person. On the thirtieth day of May, the Duke of Luxembourg having passed the Scheldt at the head of a large army, took possession of Halle, and gave it up to plunder, in sight of the Confederates, who were obliged to throw up entrenchments for their preservation. At the same time the Marquis de Boufflers, with a considerable body of forces, entrenched himself before Liege, with a view to bombard that city. In the beginning of June, King William took upon himself the command of the allied army, by this time reinforced in such a manner as to be superior to the enemy. He forthwith detached the Count de Tilly, with ten thousand men, to the relief of Liege, which was already reduced to ruins and desolation by the bombs, bullets, and repeated attacks of Boufflers, who now thought proper to retreat to Dinant. Tilly, having thus raised the siege, and thrown a body of troops into Huy, rejoined the confederate army, which had been augmented ever since his departure with six thousand men from Brandenburgh, and ten thousand Hessians, commanded by the Landgrave in person. Such was the vigilance of Luxembourg, that William could not avail himself of his superiority. In vain he exhausted his invention in marches, counter-marches, and stratagems, to bring on a general engagement: the French marshal avoided it with such dexterity, as baffled 1691.

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baffled all his endeavours. In the course of this campaign, the two armies twice confronted each other: but they were situated in such a manner that neither could begin the attack without a manifest disadvantage. While the King lay encamped at Court-sur-heure, a soldier, corrupted by the enemy, set fire to the fusees of several bombs, the explosion of which might have blown up the whole magazine, and produced infinite confusion in the army, had not the mischief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery; even while the fusees were burning they disengaged the waggons from the line, and overturned them down the side of a hill; so that the communication of the fire was intercepted. The person who made this treacherous attempt being discovered, owned he had been employed for this purpose by the Duke of Luxembourg. He was tried by a court-martial, and suffered the death of a traitor. Such perfidious practices not only fix an indelible share of infamy on the French General, but prove how much the capacity of William was dreaded by his enemies. King William, quitting Court-sur-heure, encamped upon the plain of St. Girard, where he remained till the fourth day of September, consuming the forage, and exhausting the country. Then he passed the Sambre near Jemeppe, while the French crossed it at La Busiere, and both armies marched towards Enghien. The enemy, perceiving the Confederates were at their heels, proceeded to Gramont, passed the Dender, and took possession of a strong camp between Aeth and Oudenarde: William followed the same route, and encamped between Aeth and Leuse. While he continued in his post, the Hessian forces and those of Liege, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, separated from the army, and passed the Meuse at Namur: then the King returned to the Hague, leaving the command to Prince Waldeck, who forthwith removed to Leuse,

Leuse, and on the twentieth day of the month began his march to Cambron. Luxembourg, who watched his motion with a curious eye, found means to attack him in his retreat so suddenly, that his rear was surprised and defeated, though the French were at last obliged to retire; the Prince continued his route to Cambron, and in a little time both armies retired into winter-quarters. In the mean time, the Duke de Noailles besieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French squadron, commanded by the Count D'Etrées bombarded Barcelona and Alicant. CHAP. I. 1691.

§ V. The Confederates had proposed to act vigorously in Italy against the French: but the season was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The Emperor and Spain had undertaken to furnish troops to join the Duke of Savoy; and the maritime powers contributed their proportion in money. The elector of Bavaria was nominated to the supreme command of the Imperial forces in that country; the Marquis de Leganez, governor of the Milanese, acted as trustee for the Spanish Monarch: Duke Schomberg, son of that great general who lost his life at the Boyne, lately created Duke of Leinster, managed the interest of William, as King of England and Stadtholder, and commanded a body of the Vaudois paid by Great-Britain. Before the German auxiliaries arrived, the French had made great progress in their conquest. Catinat besieged and took Villa-Franca, Nice, and some other fortifications; then he reduced Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the Marquis de Feuquieres to invest Coni, a strong fortress garrisoned by the Vaudois and French refugees. The Duke of Savoy was now reduced to the brink of ruin. He saw almost all his places of strength in the possession of the enemy; Coni was besieged; and La Hoguette, another French General, had forced the passes of the valley of Aoste, so

that

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that he had free admission into the Verceillois, and the frontiers of the Milanese. Turin was threatened with a bombardment; the people were dispirited and clamorous, and their sovereign lay with his little army encamped on the hill of Montcallier, from whence he beheld his towns taken, and his palace of Rivoli destroyed. Duke Schomberg exhorted him to act on the offensive, and give battle to Catinat, while that officer's army was weakened by detachments, and Prince Eugene* supported his remonstrance: but this proposal was vehemently opposed by the Marquis de Leganez, who foresaw that, if the Duke should be defeated, the French would penetrate into the territories of Milan. The relief of Coni, however, was undertaken by Prince Eugene, who began his march for that place with a convoy guarded by two-and-twenty hundred horse: at Magliano he was reinforced by five thousand militia; Bulonde, who commanded at the siege, no sooner heard of his approach than he retired with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind some pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, utensils, with all his sick and wounded. When he joined Catinat, he was immediately put under arrest, and afterwards cashiered with disgrace. Hoguette abandoned the valley of Aoste: Feuquieres was sent with a detachment to change the garrison of Casal: and Catinat retired with his army towards Villa Nova d'Aste.

* Prince Eugene of Savoy, who in the sequel rivalled the fame of the greatest warriors of antiquity, was decended on the father's side from the house of Savoy, and on the mother's from the family of Soissons, a branch of the house of Bourbon. His father was Eugene Maurice, of Savoy, Count of Soissons, Colonel of the Switzers, and Governor of Champagne and Brie: his mother was the celebrated Olympia de Mancini, niece of Cardinal Mazarine. Prince Eugene, finding himself neglected at the Court of France, engaged as a soldier of fortune in the service of the Emperor, and soon distinguished himself by his great military talents: he was, moreover, an accomplished Gentleman, learned, liberal, mild, and courteous; an unshaken friend; a generous enemy; an invincible captain; a consummate politician.

§ VI. The miscarriage of the French before Coni affected Louvois, the minister of Louis, so deeply, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated the event to his master, who told him, with great composure, that he was spoiled by good fortune. But the retreat of the French from Piedmont had a still greater influence over the resolutions of the conclave at Rome, then sitting for the election of a new Pope, in the room of Alexander VIII. who died in the beginning of February. Notwithstanding the power and intrigues of the French faction, headed by Cardinal D'Etrées, the affairs of Piedmont had no sooner taken this turn, than the Italians joined the Spanish and Imperial interest, and Cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, was elected Pontiff. He assumed the name of Innocent, in honour of the late Pope known by that appellation, and adopted all his maxims against the French Monarch. When the German auxiliaries arrived, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, the Confederates resolved to give battle to Catinat; but he repassed the Po, and sent couriers to Versailles, to solicit a reinforcement. Then Prince Eugene invested Carmagnola, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that in eleven days the garrison capitulated. Mean while the Marquis de Hoquincourt undertook the conquest of Montmelian, and reduced the town without much resistance. The castle, however, made such a vigorous defence, that Catinat marched thither in person; and, notwithstanding all his efforts, the place held out till the second day of December, when it surrendered on honourable conditions. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ VII. This summer produced nothing of importance on the Rhine. The French endeavoured to surprise Mentz, by maintaining a correspondence with one of the Emperor's commissioners; but this being discovered, their design was frustrated. The Imperial army, under the Elector of Saxony, passed the

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the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Manheim; and the French crossing the same river at Philipsburgh, reduced the town of Portzheim in the Marquisate of Baden-Dourlach. The execution of the scheme, projected by the Emperor for this campaign, was prevented by the death of his General, the Elector of Saxony, which happened on the second day of September. His affairs wore a more favourable aspect in Hungary, where the Turks were totally defeated by Prince Louis of Baden on the banks of the Danube. The Imperialists afterwards undertook the siege of Great Waradin in Transylvania; but this was turned into a blockade, and the place was not surrendered till the following spring. The Turks were so dispirited by the defeat by which they had lost the grand Visir, that the Emperor might have made peace upon very advantageous terms; but his pride and ambition overshot his success. He was weak, vain, and superstitious; he imagined that now the war of Ireland was almost extinguished, King William, with the rest of his allies, would be able to humble the French power, though he himself should not co-operate with Hereticks, whom he abhorred; and that in the mean time he should not only make an entire conquest of Transylvania, but also carry his victorious arms to the gates of Constantinople, according to some ridiculous prophecy by which his vanity had been flattered. The Spanish government was become so feeble, that the ministry, rather than be at the expence of defending the Netherlands, offered to deliver the whole country to King William, either as Monarch of England, or Stadtholder of the United Provinces. He declined this offer, because he knew the people would never be reconciled to a Protestant government; but he proposed that the Spaniards should confer the administration of Flanders upon the Elector of Bavaria, who was ambitious of signalising his courage, and able to defend the country with his own troops

and

and treasure. This proposal was relished by the Court of Spain; the Emperor imparted it to the Elector, who accepted the office without hesitation; and he was immediately declared Governor of the Low Countries by the Council of State at Madrid. King William, after his return from the army, continued some time at the Hague, settling the operations of the ensuing campaign. That affair being discussed, he embarked in the Maese, and landed in England on the nineteenth day of October. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ VIII. Before we explain the proceedings in Parliament, it will be necessary to give a detail of the late transactions in Ireland. In the beginning of the season, the French King had sent a large supply of provisions, clothes, and ammunition for the use of the Irish at Limerick, under the conduct of Monsieur St. Ruth, accompanied by a great number of French officers furnished with commissions from King James, though St. Ruth issued all his orders in the name of Louis. Tyrconnel had arrived in January, with three frigates and nine vessels, laden with succours of the same nature: otherwise the Irish could not have been so long kept together. Nor, indeed, could these supplies prevent them from forming separate and independent bands of Rapparees, who plundered the country, and committed the most shocking barbarities. The Lords Justices, in conjunction with General Ginckel, had taken every step their prudence could suggest, to quiet the disturbance of the country, and prevent such violence and rapine of which the soldiers in King William's army were not entirely innocent. The Justices had issued proclamations denouncing severe penalties against those who should countenance or conceal such acts of cruelty and oppression; they promised to protect all Papists who should live quietly with a certain frontier line; and Ginckel gave the Catholic rebels to understand, that he was authorised to treat with them, if they were inclined to return to their duty.

Before

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Before the armies took the field, several skirmishes had been fought between parties; and these had always turned out so unfortunate to the enemy, that their spirits were quite depressed, while the confidence of the English rose in the same proportion.

§ IX. St. Ruth and Tyrconnel were joined by the Rapparees, and General Ginckel was reinforced by Mackay, with those troops which had reduced the Highlanders in Scotland. Thus strengthened, he, in the beginning of June, marched from Mullingar to Ballymore, which was garrisoned by a thousand men under Colonel Bourke, who, when summoned to surrender, returned an evasive answer. But, when a breach was made in the place, and the besiegers began to make preparations for a general assault, his men laid down their arms, and submitted at discretion. The fortifications of this place being repaired and augmented, the General left a garrison for its defence, and advanced to Athlone, situated on the other side of the Shannon, and supported by the Irish army, encamped almost under its walls. The English town, on the hither side of the river, was taken sword in hand, and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force the passage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigour. At length, it was resolved, in the council of war, that a detachment should pass at a ford a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a ravelin, erected for that purpose. The forlorn hope consisted of sixty grenadiers in armour, headed by Captain Sands and two Lieutenants. They were seconded by another detachment, and this was supported by six battalions of infantry. Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with more valour and intrepidity. They passed twenty abreast, in the face of the enemy, through

through an incessant shower of balls, bullets, and grenades. Those who followed them took possession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. Pontoons were fixed at the same time, that the troops might pass in different places. The Irish were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that, in half an hour, it was wholly secured by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in the attack. Mackay, Tetteau, and Ptolemache, exhibited proofs of the most undaunted courage in passing the river: and General Ginckel, for his conduct, intrepidity, and success, on this occasion, was created Earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed, by express, that the English had entered the river, he said, it was impossible they should pretend to take a town which he covered with his army, and that he would give a thousand pistoles they would attempt to force a passage. Sarsfield insisted upon the truth of the intelligence, and pressed him to send succours to the town: he ridiculed this officer's fears, and some warm expostulation passed between them. Being at length convinced that the English were in possession of the place, he ordered some detachments to drive them out again: but the cannon of their own works being turned against them, they found the task impracticable, and that very night their army decamped. St. Ruth after a march of ten miles, took post at Aghrim; and having, by draughts from garrisons, augmented his army to five and twenty thousand men, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement.

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§. X. Ginckel having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle; though his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand, and the Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation. St. Ruth had made an admirable disposition, and taken every precaution that military skill could suggest. His centre extended along a rising ground, uneven

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uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable. His right was fortified with entrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exhort their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of heresy, in recovering their ancient honours and estates, and in restoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priests to enforce his exhortations; to assure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church: and that in case they should fall in battle, the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to have sworn upon the sacrament that they would not desert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French hereticks in the army of the Prince of Orange. Ginckel had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Sue, within three miles of the enemy; after having reconnoitred their posture, he resolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The necessary orders being given, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone bridge, and, advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but, at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field pieces. The day was now so far advanced, that the General determined to postpone the battle till next morning; but perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English advanced

to

to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and obstinate reception, that it was not without the most surprising efforts of courage and perseverance that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even then they lost it by inches. St. Ruth, seeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached succours to them from his centre and left wing. Mackay no sooner perceived them weakened by these detachments, than he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the centre advanced through the middle of the morass, the men wading up to the waist in mud and water. After they had reached the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and these were lined with musqueteers, supported at proper intervals with squadrons of cavalry. They made such a desperate resistance, and fought with such impetuosity, that the assailants were repulsed into the middle of the bog with great loss, and St. Ruth exclaimed—"Now "will I drive the English to the gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture Ptolemache came up with a fresh body to sustain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with such vigour, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had lost, though they found it impossible to improve the advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the assistance of the left wing, and first turned the tide of battle in favour of the English. Major-General Rouvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the centre, when St. Ruth perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose, he began to descend Kircommodon-hill with his whole reserve of horse; but in his way was killed by a cannon-

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ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny, having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank, and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity: the centre redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then the whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the route by the highway to Loughneagh: both were pursued by the English cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle, which lasted two hours, and in the pursuit, above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, provision, ammunition, and artillery, nine-and-twenty pair of colours, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was decisive, and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great confusion to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hope of receiving such succours from France, as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the Court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation. He had incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themselves and their families.

§ XI. Immediately after the battle, detachments were sent to reduce Portumny, Bonnachar, and Moor-castle, considerable passes on the Shannon, which

which were accordingly secured. Then Ginckel advanced to Galway, which he summoned to surrender; but he received a defiance from Lord Dillon and General D'Ussone, who commanded the garrison. The trenches were immediately opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town was taken by assault; six regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, passed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly invested, the Governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was allowed safe conduct to Limerick. Ginckel directed his march to the same town, which was the only post of consequence that now held out for King James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Luttrel had been seized by the French General D'Ussone, and sentenced to be shot for having proposed to surrender, he sent a trumpet, to tell the commander, that if any person should be put to death for such a proposal, he would make retaliation on the Irish prisoners. On the twenty-fifth day of August the enemy were driven from all their advanced posts; Captain Cole, with a squadron of ships, sailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in sight of the town. On the twenty-sixth day of the month the batteries were opened and a line of contravallation was formed; the Irish army lay encamped on the other side of the river, on the road to Killalow, and the fords were guarded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the fifth day of September, after the town had been almost laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon, the guns were dismounted, the out-forts evacuated, and such other motions made as indicated a resolution to abandon the siege. The enemy expressed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of short continuance. In the night the besiegers began to throw a bridge

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BOOK I. of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finished before morning. A considerable body of horse and foot had passed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were seized with such consternation that they threw down their arms, and betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and one standard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified; all the fords and passes were secured, and the batteries continued firing incessantly till the twenty-second day of the month, when Ginckel passed over with a division of the army, and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond-bridge, and carried them sword in hand, after an obstinate resistance. The garrison had made a sally from the town to support them; and this detachment was driven back with such precipitation that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the English would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of a victorious enemy. Six hundred were killed, two hundred taken prisoners, including many officers, and a great number were drowned in the Shannon.

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§ XII. Then the English made a lodgement within ten paces of the bridge-foot; and the Irish, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and Colonel Wahop signified their resolution to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: hostages were exchanged; a negociation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides of the river. The Lords Justices arrived in the camp on the first day of October, and on the fourth the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were still in the hands of the Irish. The Roman Catholicks were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise

exercise of religion as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garrison possessed by the Irish, who happened to be abroad, and had not borne arms since the declaration in the first year of the present reign, provided they should return within the term of eight months. All the persons comprised in this and the foregoing article were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, committed since the beginning of the reign of James II. and the Lords Justices promised to use their best endeavours towards the reversal of such attainders and outlawries as had passed against any of them in parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in these articles was authorised to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The Lords Justices promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprehended in this capitulation should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions

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BOOK I. executions for debt or damage: they undertook, that their Majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months, and use their endeavours that they might be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The subsequent article was calculated to indemnify Colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been seized for the use of the Irish army by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created Lord Lucan by King James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of King James, comprehending even the Rapparees, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the place of embarkation, to be conveyed to the Continent with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and General Ginckel engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to serve as a convoy to the fleet. It was stipulated, That the provisions and forage for their subsistence should be paid for on their arrival in France: That hostages should be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ships: That all the garrisons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses with the honours of war: That the Irish should have liberty to transport nine hundred horses: That those who should choose to stay behind, might dispose of themselves according to their own fancy, after having surrendered their arms to such Commissioners as the general should appoint: That all prisoners of war should be set at liberty on both sides: That the General should provide two vessels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty; and that none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom should be detained

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detained on account of debt, or any other pretence. —This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman Catholicks considered as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was surrendered to Ginckel; but both sides agreed, that the two armies should entrench themselves till the Irish could embark, that no disorders might arise from a communication.

§ XIII. The Protestant subjects of Ireland were extremely disgusted at these concessions made in favour of vanquished rebels, who had exercised such acts of cruelty and rapine. They complained, That they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to King William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their losses, while their enemies who had shed so much blood in opposing his government, were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgencies. They were dismissed with the honours of war: they were transported at the government's expence, to fight against the English in foreign countries: an honourable provision was made for the Rapparees, who were professed banditti: the Roman Catholick interest in Ireland obtained the sanction of regal authority: attainders were overlooked, forfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws set aside, in order to effect a pacification. Ginckel had received orders to put an end to the war at any rate, that William might convert his whole influence and attention to the affairs of the Continent. When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thousand Irish foot, and three hundred horse, began their march for Cork, where they proposed to take shipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield: but three regiments refusing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and dispersed to their former habitation. Those who remained at Limerick embarked

on

BOOK I. 1691. on the seventh day of November, in French transports; and sailed immediately to France, under the convoy of a French squadron, which had arrived in the bay of Dingle immediately after the capitulation was signed. Twelve thousand men chose to undergo exile from their native country, rather than submit to the government of King William. When they arrived in France, they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; assured them they should still serve under his commission and command; and that the King of France had already given orders for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

§ XIV. The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, Baron Ginckel returned to England, where he was solemnly thanked by the House of Commons for his great services, after he had been created Earl of Athlone by his Majesty. When the Parliament met on the twenty-second day of October, the King, in his speech, insisted upon the necessity of sending a strong fleet to sea early in the season, and of maintaining a considerable army, to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from insult and invasion; for which purposes, he said, sixty-five thousand men would be barely sufficient. Each House presented an address of congratulation upon his Majesty's safe return to England, and on the reduction of Ireland: they promised to assist him, to the utmost of their power, in prosecuting the war with France; and, at the same time, drew up addresses to the Queen, acknowledging her prudent administration during his Majesty's absence. Notwithstanding this appearance of cordiality and complaisance, a spirit of discontent had insinuated itself into both Houses of Parliament, and even infected great part of the nation.

§ XV. A great number of individuals, who wished well to their country, could not, without anxiety and resentment, behold the interest of the nation sacri-

ficed to foreign connections, and the King's favour so partially bestowed upon Dutchmen, in prejudice to his English subjects. They observed that the number of forces he demanded was considerably greater than that of any army which had ever been paid by the publick, even when the nation was in the most imminent danger; that, instead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the Continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greatest part of the burden, though they had the least share of the profit. They even insinuated, that such a standing army was more calculated to make the King absolute at home, than to render him formidable abroad; and the secret friends of the late King did not fail to enforce these insinuations. They renewed their animadversions upon the disagreeable part of his character; they dwelt upon his proud reserve, his sullen silence, his imperious disposition, and his base ingratitude, particularly to the Earl of Marlborough, whom he had dismissed from all his employments, immediately after the signal exploits he had performed in Ireland. The disgrace of this nobleman was partly ascribed to the freedom with which he had complained of the King's undervaluing his services, and partly to the intrigues of his wife, who had gained an ascendancy over the Princess Anne of Denmark, and is said to have employed her influence in fomenting a jealousy between the two sisters. The malcontents of the whiggish faction, enraged to find their credit declining at Court, joined in the cry which the Jacobites had raised against the government. They scruple not to say, that the arts of corruption were shamefully practised, to secure a majority in Parliament: that the King was as tender of the prerogative as any of his predecessors had ever been; and that he even ventured to admit Jacobites into his council, because they were the known tools of arbitrary power. These reflections alluded to the Earls

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of Rochester and Ranelagh, who, with Sir Edward Seymour, had been lately created Privy-councillors. Rochester entertained very high notions of regal authority; he proposed severity as one of the best supports of government; was clear in his understanding, violent in his temper, and incorrupt in his principles. Ranelagh was a man of parts and pleasure, who possessed the most plausible and winning address; and was capable of transacting the most important and intricate affairs, in the midst of riot and debauchery. He had managed the revenue of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. He enjoyed the office of pay-master in the army of King James; and now maintained the same footing under the government of William and Mary. Sir Edward Seymour was the proudest commoner in England, and the boldest orator that ever filled the Speaker's chair. He was intimately acquainted with the business of the House, and knew every individual member so exactly, that with one glance of his eye he could prognosticate the fate of every motion. He had opposed the court with great acrimony, questioned the King's title, censured his conduct, and reflected upon his character. Nevertheless, he now became a proselyte, and was brought into the Treasury.

§ XVI. The Commons voted three millions, four hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy-five pounds, for the use of the ensuing year: but the establishment of funds for raising these supplies was retarded, partly by the ill-humour of the opposition, and partly by intervening affairs, that diverted the attention of the Commons. Several eminent merchants presented a petition to the House against the East-India company, charging them with manifold abuses; at the same time, a counter-petition was delivered by the Company, and the affair referred to the examination of a committee appointed for that purpose. After a minute enquiry into the nature of the complaints, the Commons voted

voted certain regulations with respect to the stock and the traffick; and resolved to petition his Majesty, that, according to the said regulations, the East-India Company should be incorporated by charter. The committee was ordered to bring in a bill for this establishment: but divers petitions being presented against it, and the Company's answers proving unsatisfactory, the House addressed the King to dissolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. He said it was an affair of great importance to the trade of the kingdom; therefore, he would consider the subject, and in a little time return a positive answer. The parliament was likewise amused by a pretended conspiracy of the Papists in Lancashire, to raise a rebellion, and restore James to the throne. Several persons were seized, and some witnesses examined: but nothing appeared to justify the information. At length one Fuller, a prisoner in the King's Bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the Bar of the House of Commons, where he produced some papers. He obtained a blank pass from the King for two persons, who, he said, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed, that Colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes, were the witnesses for whom he had procured the pass and the protection. Search was made for them, according to his direction; but no such persons were found. Then the House declared Fuller a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser. He was, at the request of the Commons, prosecuted by the Attorney-General, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; a disgrace which he acordingly underwent.

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§ XVII. A bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason having been laid aside by the Lords in the preceding session, was now again brought upon the carpet, and passed the Lower House. The design of this bill was to secure the subject from the

BOOK I. rigours to which he had been exposed in the late reigns: It provided, that the prisoner should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, as also of the pannel, ten days before his trial: and, That his witnesses should be examined upon oath, as well as those of the crown. The Lords in their own behalf, added a clause, enacting, That upon the Trial of any Peer or Peeress, for treason or misprision of treason, all the Peers who have a right to sit and vote in Parliament should be duly summoned to assist at the trial: That this notice should be given twenty days before the trial; and, that every Peer so summoned, and appearing, should vote upon the occasion. The Commons rejected this amendment: and a free conference ensued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both sides, which served only to inflame the dispute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own opinion. After three conferences that produced nothing but animosity, the bill was dropped: for the Commons resolved to bear the hardships of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expence of purchasing a new privilege to the Lords; and without this advantage the Peers would not contribute to their relief.

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§ XVIII. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Lower House, was the miscarriage of the fleet during the summer's expedition. Admiral Russel, who commanded at sea, having been joined by a Dutch squadron, sailed in quest of the enemy; but, as the French King had received undoubted intelligence, that the combined squadrons were superior to his navy in number of ships and weight of metal, he ordered Tourville to avoid an engagement. This officer acted with such vigilance, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Russel, who was, moreover, perplexed with obscure and contradictory orders. Nevertheless, he cruised all summer, either in the channel or in soundings, for the protection of the trade, and, in particular,

secured

secured the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, in which the English and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions sterling. Having scoured the channel, and sailed along great part of the French coast, he returned to Torbay in the beginning of August, and received fresh orders to put to sea again, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances against exposing large ships to the storms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He therefore sailed back to soundings, where he continued cruising till the second day of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest, which drove him into the channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the Sound with great difficulty: the Coronation, a second-rate, foundered at anchor off the Ram-Head: the Harwich, a third-rate, bulged upon the rocks, and perished: two others ran ashore, but were got off with little damage: but the whole fleet was scattered and distressed. The nation murmured at the supposed misconduct of the Admiral, and the Commons subjected him to an inquiry: but, when they examined his papers, orders, and instructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought proper to drop the prosecution out of tenderness to the ministry. Then the House took into consideration some letters which had been intercepted in a French ship taken by Sir Ralph Delaval. Three of these are said to have been written by King James, and the rest sealed with his seal. They related to the plan of an insurrection in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England: Legge, Lord Dartmouth, with one Crew, being mentioned in them as agents and abettors in the design, warrants were immediately issued against them; Crew absconded, but Lord Dartmouth was committed to the Tower. Lord Preston was examined touching some cyphers which they could not explain, and, pretending ignorance, was imprisoned in Newgate,

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gate, from whence, however, he soon obtained his release. The funds for the supplies of the ensuing year being established, and several acts* passed relating to domestick regulations, the King, on the twenty-fourth day of February, closed the session with a short speech, thanking the Parliament for their demonstrations of affection in the liberal supplies they had granted, and communicating his intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the two Houses, at his desire, adjourned themselves to the twelfth day of April, and the Parliament was afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth of May by proclamation†.

§ XIX. The King had suffered so much in his reputation by his complaisance to the Presbyterians of Scotland, and was so displeased with the conduct of that stubborn sect of religionists, that he thought proper to admit some prelatists into the administration. Johnston, who had been sent envoy to the Elector of Brandenburgh, was recalled, and with the Master of Stair, made joint secretary of Scotland;

* The laws enacted in this session were these; an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; an act for taking away clergy from some offenders, and bringing others to punishment; an act against deer stealing; an act for repairing the highways, and settling the rates of carriage of goods; an act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent devices; an act for explaining and supplying the defects of former laws for the settlement of the poor; an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle; and an act for ascertaining the tithes of hemp and flax.

† In the course of this session, Dr. Welwood, a Scottish physician, was taken into custody, and reprimanded at the bar of the House of Commons, for having reflected upon that House in a Weekly paper entitled Mercurius Reformatus; but, as it was written in defence of the government, the King appointed him one of his physicians in ordinary. At this period, Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, distinguished himself in the House of Commons by his fine talents and eloquence. The privy seal was committed to the Earl of Pembroke; Lord Viscount Sydney was created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Sir John Sommers appointed Attorney-General; and the see of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Barlow, conferred upon Dr. Thomas Tennison, who had been recommended to the King as a Divine remarkable for his piety and moderation.

Melvill,

Melvill, who had declined in his importance, was made Lord Privy-Seal of that kingdom: Tweedale was constituted Lord Chancellor: Crawfurd retained the office of President of the Council; and Lothian was appointed high Commissioner to the general assembly. The Parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth day of April, because it was not yet compliant enough to be assembled with safety; and the episcopal clergy were admitted to a share of the church-government. These measures, instead of healing the divisions, served only to inflame the animosity of the two parties. The episcopalians triumphed in the King's favour, and began to treat their antagonists with insolence and scorn: the Presbyterians were incensed to see their friends disgraced, and their enemies distinguished by the royal indulgence. They insisted upon the authority of the law, which happened to be upon their side: they became more than ever sour, surly, and implacable; they refused to concur with the prelatists, or abate in the least circumstance of discipline; and the assembly was dissolved, without any time or place assigned for the next meeting. The Presbyterians pretended an independent right of assembling annually, even without a call from his Majesty; they therefore adjourned themselves, after having protested against the dissolution. The King resented this measure, as an insolent invasion of the prerogative, and conceived an aversion to the whole sect, who in their turn began to lose all respect for his person and government. CHAP. III. 1691.

§. XX. As the Highlanders were not yet totally reduced, the Earl of Breadalbane undertook to bring them over, by distributing sums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thousand pounds were remitted from England for this purpose. The clans being informed of this remittance, suspected that the Earl's design was to appropriate to himself the best part of the money, and when he began to

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treat with them made such extravagant demands, that he found his scheme impracticable. He was therefore obliged to refund the sum he had received; and he resolved to wreak his vengeance with the first opportunity, on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negociation, was Macdonald of Glencoe, whose opposition rose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the publick weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Breadalbane during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses, from the other's share of the money which he was employed to distribute. The Highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but, by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the Earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all those who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit, and take the oaths by a certain day; and this was prolonged to the close of the present year, with a denunciation of military execution against those who should hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very last day of the month to Fort-William, and desired that the oaths might be tendered to him by Colonel Hill, Governor of that fortress. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magistrate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald set out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyle. Though the ground was covered with snow, and the weather intensely cold, he travelled with such diligence, that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place, and addressed himself to Sir John Campbell, sheriff of the county, who, in consideration of his disappointment at Fort-William, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him

and

and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had so solemnly submitted. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ XXI. Breadalbane had represented Macdonald at Court as an incorrigible rebel, as a ruffian inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country; nor live peaceably under any Sovereign. He observed that he had paid no regard to the proclamation, and proposed that the government should sacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was supported by the suggestions of the other Scottish ministers; and the King, whose chief virtue was not humanity, signed a warant for the destruction of those unhappy people, though it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's submission. An order for this barbarous execution, signed and counter-signed by his Majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the Master of Stair, Secretary for Scotland, this minister sent particular directions to Livingstone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the sword, charging him to take no prisoners, that the scene might be more terrible. In the month of February, Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from Major Duncanson, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of soldiers belonging to Argyle's regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he answered, as friends, and promised, upon his honour, that neither he nor his people should sustain the least injury. In consequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the most cordial hospitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the most unreserved friendship. At length

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length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having passed the day together, parted about seven in the evening, with mutual professions of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his suspicion to his brother; but neither he nor the father would harbour the least doubt of Campbell's sincerity; nevertheless, the two young men went forth privately, to make further observations. They overheard the common soldiers say they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it base to murder them in cold blood, but that their officers were answerable for the treachery. When the youths hasted back to apprise their father of the impending danger, they saw the house already surrounded; they heard the discharge of muskets, the shrieks of women and children; and being destitute of arms, secured their own lives by immediate flight. The savage ministers of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber and shot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day distracted by the horror of her husband's fate. The Laird of Auchintrincken, Macdonald's guest, who had three months before this period submitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without question. A boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to serve him for life, was stabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a subaltern officer. Eight-and-thirty persons suffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were surprised in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the divine mercy. The design was to butcher all the males under seventy that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred; but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to secure the

the passes, so that one hundred and sixty escaped. Campbell, having perpetrated this brutal massacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murdered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the sanction of King William's authority, answered the immediate purpose of the Court, by striking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite Highlanders: but at the same time excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every sentiment of humanity, and produced such an aversion to the government as all the arts of a ministry could never totally surmount. A detail of the particulars was published at Paris, with many exaggerations, and the Jacobites did not fail to expatiate upon every circumstance, in domestick libels and private conversation. The King, alarmed at the outcry which was raised upon this occasion, ordered an enquiry to be set on foot, and dismissed the Master of Stair from his employment of Secretary; he likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amidst a heap of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but as he did not severely punish those who had made his authority subservient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation stuck fast to his character; and the Highlanders, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with

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Burnet. Story. Kennet. Life of K. William. Nav. Hist. Ralph. Voltaire.

BOOK I. with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration.

1692. § XXII. A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled Monarch, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, and endeavoured to make his advantage of the growing discontent. King William having settled the domestick affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and assiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March; and was received by the States-General with expressions of the most cordial regard. While he was here employed in promoting the measures of the grand confederacy, the French King resolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed heartily engaged in the interest of James, whose emissaries in Britain began to bestir themselves with uncommon assiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lant, who was imprisoned on suspicion of distributing his commissions, had the good fortune to be released, and the Papists of Lancashire dispatched him to the court of St. Germain's, with an assurance that they were in a condition to receive their old Sovereign. He returned with advice that King James would certainly land in the spring; and that Colonel Parker and other officers should be sent over with full instructions, touching their conduct at and before the King's arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole scheme of a descent, which Louis had actually concerted with the late King. He assured them that their lawful Sovereign would once more visit his British dominions, at the head of thirty thousand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the transports were already prepared, and a strong squadron equipped for their convoy; he, therefore, exhorted them to be speedy

and

and secret in their preparations, that they might be in readiness to take arms, and co-operate in effecting his restoration. This officer, and one Johnson, a priest, are said to have undertaken the assassination of King William; but, before they could execute their design, his Majesty set sail for Holland. CHAP. III. 1692.

§ XXIII. Meanwhile James addressed a letter to several Lords who had been formerly members of his council, as well as to divers Ladies of quality and distinction, intimating the pregnancy of his Queen, and requiring them to attend as witnesses at the labour. He took notice of the injury his family and honour had sustained, from the cruel aspersions of his enemies concerning the birth of his son, and as Providence had now favoured him with an opportunity of refuting the calumny of those who affirmed that the Queen was incapable of child-bearing, he assured them, in the name of his brother, the French King, as well as upon his own royal word, that they should have free leave to visit his Court, and return after the labour*. This invitation, however, no person would venture to accept. He afterwards employed his emissaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing that the King of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown; and that, although he was furnished with a number of troops sufficient to untie the hands of his subjects, he did not intend to deprive them of their share in the glory of restoring their lawful King and their ancient government,

* The letter was directed not only to privy counsellors, but also to the Dutchesses of Somerset and Beaufort, the Marchioness of Halifax, the Countesses of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby, the Ladies Fitzharding, and Fretchville, those of Sir John Trevor, Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Christopher Musgrave, the wives of Sir Thomas Stamford, Lord-Mayor of London, Sir William Ashhurst, and Sir Richard Levett, the Sheriffs, and, lastly, to Dr. Chamberlain, the famous practitioner in midwifery.

He

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He exhorted the people to join his standard. He assured them that the foreign auxiliaries should behave with the most regular discipline, and be sent back immediately after his re-establishment. He observed, that when such a number of his subjects were so infatuated as to concur with the unnatural design of the Prince of Orange, he had chosen to rely upon the fidelity of his English army, and refused considerable succours that were offered to him by his most Christian Majesty; that when he was ready to oppose force with force, he nevertheless offered to give all reasonable satisfaction to his subjects who had been misled, and endeavoured to open their eyes, with respect to the vain pretences of his adversary, whose aim was not the reformation but the subversion of the government: that when he saw himself deserted by his army, betrayed by his ministers, abandoned by his favourites, and even his own children, and at last rudely driven from his own palace by a guard of insolent foreigners, he had, for his personal safety, taken refuge in France: that his retreat from the malice and cruel designs of the usurper had been construed into an abdication, and the whole Constitution of the monarchy destroyed by a set of men illegally assembled, who in fact, had no power to alter the property of the meanest subject. He expressed his hope that by this time the nation had fairly examined the account, and from the losses and enormous expence of the three last years, were convinced that the remedy was worse than the disease; that the beginning, like the first years of Nero's reign, would, in all probability, be found the mildest part of the usurpation, and the instruments of the new establishment live to suffer severely by the tyranny they had raised; that even though the usurpation should continue during his life, an indisputable title would survive in his issue, and expose the kingdom to all the miseries of a civil war. He not only solicited but commanded

his

his good subjects to join him, according to their duty, and the oaths they had taken. He forbade them to pay taxes or any part of the revenue to the usurper. He promised pardon; and even rewards, to all those who should return to their duty, and to procure in his first Parliament an act of indemnity, with an exception of certain persons* whom he now enumerated. He declared that all soldiers who should quit the service of the usurper, and inlist under his banners, might depend upon receiving their pardon and arrears: and that the foreign troops, upon laying down their arms, should be paid and transported to their respective countries. He solemnly protested that he would protect and maintain the Church of England, as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, and possessions: he signified his resolution to use his influence with the Parliament for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the spirit of the Christian religion, and conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the nation. He said his principal care should be to heal the wounds of the late distractions; to restore trade by observing the act of navigation, which had been lately so much violated in favour of strangers; to put the navy in a flourishing condition: and to take every step that might contribute to the greatness of the monarchy and the happiness of the people. He concluded

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* Those excepted were the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, the Lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltshire, Colchester, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchill; the Bishops of London and St. Asaph, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimstone, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Basil Dixwell, Sir James Oxenden, Dr. John Tillotson, Dr. Gilbert Burnet; Francis Russel, Richard Levison; John Trenchard, Charles Duncomb, citizens of London: Edwards, Stapleton, and Hunt, fishermen, and all others who had offered personal indignities to him at Feversham; or had been concerned in the barbarous murder of John Ashton Cross, or any others who had suffered death for their loyalty; and all spies, or such as had betrayed his council during his late absence from England.

with

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with professions of resignation to the Divine Will, declaring that all who should reject his offers of mercy and appear in arms against him, would be answerable to Almighty God for all the blood that should be spilt, and all the miseries in which these kingdoms might be involved by their desperate and unreasonable opposition.

§ XXIV. While this declaration operated variously on the minds of the people, Colonel Parker, with some other officers, inlisted men privately for the service of James in the counties of York, Lancaster, and in the Bishoprick of Durham: at the same time, Fountaine and Holman were employed in raising two regiments of horse at London, that they might join their master immediately after his landing. His partisans sent Captain Lloyd with an express to Lord Melfort, containing a detail of these particulars, with an assurance that they had brought over Rear Admiral Carter to the interest of his Majesty. They likewise transmitted a list of the ships that composed the English fleet, and exhorted James to use his influence with the French King, that the Count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they should be joined by the Dutch squadron. It was in consequence of this advice, that Louis commanded Tourville to fall upon the English fleet, even without waiting for the Toulon squadron, commanded by the Marquis D'Etrées. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, consisting of a body of French troops, together with some English and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

§ XXV. The ministry of England was informed of all these particulars, partly by some agents of James, who betrayed his cause, and partly by Admiral Carter, who gave the Queen to understand he had been tampered with; and was instructed to amuse

amuse the Jacobites with a negociation. King William no sooner arrived in Holland, than he hastened the naval preparations of the Dutch; so that their fleet was ready for sea sooner than was expected; and when he received the first intimation of the projected descent, he detached General Ptolemache with three of the English regiments from Holland. These, reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. The Queen issued a proclamation, commanding all Papists to depart from London and Westminster: the members of both Houses of Parliament were required to meet on the twenty-fourth day of May, that she might avail herself of their advice in such a perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited for apprehending divers disaffected persons; and they withdrawing themselves from their respective places of abode, a proclamation was published for discovering and bringing them to justice. The Earls of Searsdale, Litchfield, and Newburgh: The Lords Griffin, Forbes, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, and others, found means to elude the serch. The Earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were sent to the Tower: Edward Ridley, Knevitt, Hastings, and Robert Ferguson, were imprisoned in Newgate. The Bishop of Rochester was confined to his own house: the Lords Brudenel and Fanshaw were secured; the Earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and Sir Andrew Forrester, were discovered in a Quaker's house, and committed to prison, with several other persons of distinction. The train-bands of London and Westminster were armed by the Queen's direction, and she reviewed them in person: Admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and Carter, with a squadron of eighteen sail, continued to cruise along the French coast to observe the motions of the enemy.

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§ XXVI. On the eleventh day of May, Russel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined

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by the squadrons under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, intimating that a report having been spread of the Queen's suspecting the fidelity of the sea officers, her Majesty had ordered him to declare in her name, that she reposed the most entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government. The flag officers and captains forthwith drew up a very loyal and dutiful address, which was graciously received by the Queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Russel, being reinforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callemberg, and Vandergoes, set sail for the coast of France on the eighteenth day of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the Count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue division in the rear, and the red in the centre. The French fleet did not exceed sixty-three ships of the line, and, as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement: but he had received a positive order to fight on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Louis, indeed, was apprised of their junction before they were descried by his admiral, to whom he dispatched a countermanding order by two several vessels: but one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement.

§ XXVII. Tourville, therefore, in obedience to the first mandate, bore down along side of Russel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the Rising-Sun, which carried one hundred and four cannon, was towed out of the line in great disorder.

disorder. Nevertheless the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward; and Russel made the signal for chasing. Part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which Admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding himself in extremity, he exhorted his Captain to fight as long as the ship could swim; and expired with great composure. At length the French bore away for Conquest-Road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the westward, and the combined fleets chased with all the sail they could carry, until Russel's fore-topmast came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, the fleet still continued the pursuit, and anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-second of the month, about seven in the morning; part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, some at anchor, and some driven to the eastward with the tide of flood. Russel, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cables and chased. The Rising-Sun, having lost her masts, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burnt by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, another first-rate, and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the Race of Alderney, by such a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the

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French

BOOK I. French King, who had been so long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories: it reduced 1692. James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. Some historians allege, that Russel did not improve his victory with all advantages that might have been obtained, before the enemy recovered of their consternation. They say his affection to the service was in a good measure cooled by the disgrace of his friend the Earl of Marlborough: that he hated the Earl of Nottingham, by whose channel he received his orders; and, that he adhered to the letter, rather than to the spirit of his instructions. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold services to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British Admiral. He plyed from the Nore to the Downs with a very scanty wind, through the dangerous sands, contrary to the advice of all his pilots; and by this bold passage effected a junction of the different squadrons, which otherwise the French would have attacked singly, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; and destroyed about fifteen of the enemy's capital ships; in a word, he obtained such a decisive victory, that during the remaining part of the war the French would not hazard another battle by sea with the English.

§ XXVIII. Russel having ordered Sir John Ashby, and the Dutch Admiral Callemberg, to steer towards Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be refitted, and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: but his principal motive was, to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract

distract the enemy in their own dominions. The Queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors. She caused medals to be struck in honour of the action; and the bodies of Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July, seven thousand men, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, embarked on board transports, to be landed at St. Maloes, Brest, or Rochefort; and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, consisting of land and sea officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Nevertheless, the Admiral having detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet, in their passage from St. Maloes to Brest, set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports: but in a few days the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's.

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§ XXIX. The Queen immediately dispatched the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the Lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to consult with the Admiral, who demonstrated the impracticability of making an effectual descent upon the coast of France at that season of the year. The design was therefore laid aside; and the forces were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. A loud clamour was raised against the ministry, as the authors of this miscarriage. The people complained that they were plundered and abused: that immense sums were extorted from them by the most grievous impositions: that, by the infamous expedient of borrowing upon established

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blished funds, their taxes were perpetuated: that their burthens would daily increase: that their treasure was either squandered away in chimerical projects, or expended in foreign connections, of which England was naturally independent. They were the more excusable for exclaiming in this manner, as their trade had suffered grievously by the French privateers, which swarmed in the channel. In vain the merchants had recourse to the Admiralty, which could not spare particular convoys, while large fleets were required for the defence of the nation. The French King having nothing further to apprehend from the English armament, withdrew his troops from the coast of Normandy; and James returned in despair to St. Germain's, where his Queen had been in his absence delivered of a daughter, who was born in the presence of the Archbishop of Paris, the Keeper of the Seals, and other persons of distinction.

§ XXX. Louis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the twentieth day of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders, with all the effeminate pomp of an Asiatick Emperor, attended by his women and parasites, his band of musick, his dancers, his opera, and in a word, by all the ministers of luxury and sensual pleasure. Having reviewed his army, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand men, he undertook the siege of Namur, which he invested on both sides of the Sambre, with about one half of his army, while the other covered the siege under the command of Luxembourg. Namur is situated on the conflux of the Meuse and the Sambre. The citadel was deemed one of the strongest forts in Flanders, strengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in person. The Prince de Barbason commanded the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men. The place was well supplied; and the Governor knew

that

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that King William would make strong efforts for its relief; so that the besieged were animated with many concurring considerations. Notwithstanding these advantages, the assailants carried on their attacks with such vigour, that in seven days after the trenches were opened the town capitulated, and the garrison retired into the citadel. King William being joined by the troops of Brandenburgh and Liege, advanced to the Mehaigne, at the head of one hundred thousand effective men, and encamped within cannon shot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other side of the river. That General, however, had taken such precautions, that the King of England could not interrupt the siege, nor attack the French lines without great disadvantage. The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their Monarch, and assisted by the superior abilities of Vauban their engineer, repeated their attacks with such impetuosity, that the fort of Coehorn was surrendered after a very obstinate defence, in which he himself had been dangerously wounded. The citadel being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by assault: on the twentieth of May the Governor capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of King William, who saw himself obliged to lie inactive at the head of a powerful army, and be an eye-witness of the loss of the most important fortress in the Netherlands. Louis, having taken possession of the place, returned in triumph to Versailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of adulation; while William's reputation suffered a little from his miscarriage, and the Prince of Barbason incurred the suspicion of treachery or misconduct.

§ XXXI. Luxembourg having placed a strong garrison in Namur, detached Boufflers with a body of troops to La Bassiere: and with the rest of his army encamped at Soignies. The King of England sent

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sent off detachments towards Liege and Ghent; and on the sixth day of July posted himself at Genap, resolved to seize the first opportunity of retrieving his honour by attacking the enemy. Having received intelligence that the French General was in motion, and intended to take post between Steenkerke and Enghien, he passed the river Senne, in order to anticipate his purpose: but, in spite of all his diligence, Luxembourg gained his point; and William encamped at Lembeck, within six miles of the French army. Here he resolved, in a council of war, to attack the enemy; and every disposition was made for that purpose. The heavy baggage he ordered to be conveyed to the other side of the Senne; and one Millevoix, a detected spy, was compelled by menaces to mislead Luxembourg with false intelligence, importing that he need not be alarmed at the motions of the Allies, who intended the next day to make a general forage. On the twenty-fourth day of July, the army began to move from the left, in two columns, as the ground would not admit of their marching in an extended front. The Prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right of the enemy, at the head of ten battalions of English, Danish, and Dutch infantry: he was supported by a considerable body of British horse and foot, commanded by Lieutenant-General Mackay. Though the ground was intersected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the Prince marched with such diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with such impetuosity, that they were driven from their posts, and their whole camp became a scene of tumult and confusion. Luxembourg, trusting to the intelligence he had received, allowed himself to be surprised; and it required the full exertions of his superior talents, to remedy the consequences of his neglect. He forthwith forgot a severe indisposition under which he then laboured; he rallied his broken battalions:

battalions: he drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them to the charge in person. The Duke de Chartres, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the Prince of Conti, and a great number of volunteers of the first quality, put themselves at the head of the household troops, and fell with great fury upon the English, who were very ill supported by Count Solmes, the officer who commanded the centre of the Allies. The Prince of Wirtemberg had taken one of the enemies' batteries, and actually penetrated into their lines; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he sent an aide-du-camp twice, to demand succours from Solmes; who derided his distress, saying, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make." At length when the King sent an express order, commanding him to sustain the left wing, he made a motion with his horse, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the British troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, bore the whole brunt of the engagement. They fought with surprising courage and perseverance against dreadful odds; and the event of the battle continued doubtful, until Boufflers joined the French army with a great body of dragoons. The Allies could not sustain the additional weight of this reinforcement, before which they gave way, though the retreat was made in tolerable order; and the enemy did not think proper to prosecute the advantage they had gained. In this action the Confederates lost the Earl of Angus, General Mackay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, together with about three thousand men left dead on the spot, the same number wounded or taken, a great many colours and standards, and several pieces of cannon.

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§ XXXII. The French, however, reaped no solid advantage from this victory, which cost them about three thousand men, including the Prince of

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Turenne, the Marquis de Bellefond, Tilladet, and Fernacon, with many officers of distinction: as for Millevoix the spy, he was hanged on a tree, on the right wing of the allied army. King William retired unmolested to his own camp; and notwithstanding all his overthrows, continued a respectable enemy, by dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in resources. That he was formidable to the French nation, even in the midst of his ill success, appears from divers undeniable testimonies, and from none more than from the extravagance of joy expressed by the people of France, on occasion of this unimportant victory. When the Princes who served in the battle returned to Paris, the roads through which they passed were almost blocked up with multitudes; and the whole air resounded with acclamation. All the ornaments of the fashion peculiar to both sexes adopted the name of Steenkerke: every individual who had been personally engaged in the action was revered as a being of a superior species; and the transports of the women rose almost to a degree of frenzy.

§ XXXIII. The French ministry did not entirely depend upon the fortune of the war for the execution of their revenge against King William. They likewise employed assassins to deprive him of life, in the most treacherous manner. When Louvois died, his son, the Marquis de Barbesieux, who succeeded him in his office of Secretary, found, among his papers, the draft of a scheme for this purpose, and immediately revived the design, by means of the Chevalier de Grandval, a Captain of dragoons in the service. He and Colonel Parker engaged one Dumont, who undertook to assassinate King William. Madame de Maintenon, and Paparel, paymaster to the French army, were privy to the scheme, which they encouraged: the conspirators are said to have obtained an audience of King James, who approved of their undertaking, and assured them of his protection; but

that

that unfortunate Monarch was unjustly charged with the guilt of countenancing the intended murther, as they communicated nothing to him but an attempt to seize the person of the Prince of Orange. Dumont actually inlisted in the confederate army, that he might have the better opportunity to shoot the King of England when he should ride out to visit the lines, while Grandval and Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders to Luxembourg, to furnish them with a party of horse for the rescue of Dumont, after the blow should be struck. Whether this man's heart failed him, or he could not find the opportunity he desired, after having resided some weeks in the camp of the Allies, he retired to Hanover; but still corresponded with Grandval and Barbesieux. This last admitted one Leefdale, a Dutch baron, into the secret, and likewise imparted it to Monsieur Chanlas, Quarter-Master-General of the French army, who animated Grandval and Leefdale with the promise of a considerable reward, and promised to co-operate with Parker for bringing off Dumont, for this assassin still persisted in his undertaking. Leefdale had been sent from Holland, on purpose to dive to the bottom of this conspiracy, in consequence of advice given by the British envoy at Hanover, where Dumont had dropped some hints that alarmed his suspicion. The Dutchman not only insinuated himself into the confidence of the conspirators, but likewise inveigled Grandval to Eyndhoven, where he was apprehended. Understanding that Dumont had already discovered the design to the Duke of Zell, and that he himself had been betrayed by Leefdale, he freely confessed all the particulars without enduring the torture; and, being found guilty by a court-martial, was executed as a traitor.

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§ XXXIV. About this period the Duke of Leinster arrived at Ostend, with the troops which had been embarked at St. Helen's. He was furnished

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nished with cannon sent down the Meuse from Maestricht; and reinforced by a large detachment from the King's camp at Gramont, under the command of General Ptolemache. He took possession of Furnes, was joined by the Earl of Portland and M. D'Auverquerque, and a disposition was made for investing Dunkirk; but, on further deliberation, the enterprise was thought very dangerous, and therefore laid aside. Furnes and Dixmuyde, lately reduced by Brigadier Ramsay, were strengthened with new works, and secured by strong garrisons. The cannon were sent back, and the troops, returned to Ostend, re-embarked for England. This fruitless expedition, added to the inglorious issue of the campaign, increased the ill-humour of the British nation. They taxed William with having lain inactive at Gramont with an army of one hundred thousand men, while Luxembourg was posted at Courtray with half that number. They said, if he had found the French lines too strong to be forced, he might have passed the Scheldt higher up, and not only laid the enemy's conquests under contribution, but even marched into the bowels of France: and they complained that Furnes and Dixmuyde were not worth the sums expended in maintaining their garrisons. On the twenty-sixth day of September, King William left the army under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his house at Loo: in two days after his departure the camp at Gramont was broke up; the infantry marched to Marienkerke, and the horse to Caure. On the sixteenth day of October, the King receiving intelligence, that Boufflers had invested Charleroy, and Luxembourg taken post in the neighbourhood of Condé, ordered the troops to be instantly re-assembled between the village of Ixells and Halle, with design to raise the siege, and repaired to Brussels, where he held a council of war, in which the proper measures were concerted. He then returned

turned to Holland, leaving the command with the Elector of Bavaria, who forthwith began his march for Charleroy. At his approach Boufflers abandoned the siege, and moved towards Philipville. The Elector having reinforced the place and thrown supplies into Aeth, distributed his forces into winter-quarters. Then Luxembourg, who had cantoned his army between Condé, Leuze, and Tournay, returned to Paris, leaving Boufflers to command in his absence. CHAP. III. 1692.

§ XXXV. The Allies had been unsuccessful in Flanders, and they were not fortunate in Germany. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel undertook the siege of Eberemburg, which, however, he was obliged to abandon. The Duke de Lorges, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, surprised, defeated, and took the Duke of Wirtemberg, who had posted himself with four thousand horse near Eidelsheim, to check the progress of the enemy. Count Tallard having invested Rhinefeld, the Landgrave marched to its relief with such expedition, that the French were obliged to desist and retreat with considerable damage. The Elector of Saxony had engaged to bring an army into the field; but he complained that the Emperor left the burthen of the war with France upon the Princes, and converted his chief power and attention to the campaign in Hungary. A jealousy and misunderstanding ensued: Schoening, the Saxon General, in his way to the hot-baths at Dablitz in Bohemia, was seized by the Emperor's order on suspicion of having maintained a private correspondence with the enemy, and very warm expostulations on this subject passed between the Courts of Vienna and Dresden. Schoening was detained two years in custody; and at length released, on condition that he should never be employed again in the empire. The war in Hungary produced no event of importance. The ministry of the Ottoman Porte was distracted by factions, and the seraglio

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seraglio threatened with tumults. The people were tired of maintaining an unsuccessful war: the Visir was deposed; and in the midst of this confusion, the garrison of Great Waradin, which had been blocked up by the Imperialists during the whole winter, surrendered on capitulation. Lord Paget, the English Ambassador at Vienna, was sent to Constantinople, with powers to mediate a peace: but the terms offered by the Emperor were rejected at the Porte: the Turkish army lay upon the defensive, and the season was spent in a fruitless negociation.

§ XXXVI. The prospect of affairs in Piedmont was favourable for the allies; but the court of France had brought the Pope to an accommodation, and began to tamper with the Duke of Savoy. M. Chanlais was sent to Turin, with advantageous proposals, which, however, the Duke would not accept, because he thought himself entitled to better terms, considering that the allied army in Piedmont amounted to fifty thousand effective men, while Catinat's forces were not sufficient to defend his conquests in that country. In the month of July the Duke marched into Dauphiné, where he plundered a number of villages, and reduced the fortress of Guillestre; then passing the river Darance, he invested Ambrun, which, after a siege of nine days, surrendered on capitulation: he afterwards laid all the neighbouring towns under contribution. Here Duke Schomberg, who commanded the auxiliaries in the English pay, published a declaration, in the name of King William, inviting the people to join his standard, assuring them that his master had no other design in ordering his troops to invade France, but that of restoring the noblesse to their ancient splendour, their Parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their just privileges. He even offered his protection to the Clergy, and promised to use his endeavours for reviving the edict of Nantes,

Nantes, which had been guaranteed by the King of England. These offers, however, produced little effect; and the Germans ravaged the whole country, in revenge for the cruelties which the French had committed in the Palatinate. The allied army advanced from Ambrun to Gap, on the frontiers of Provence, and this place submitted without opposition. The inhabitants of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, and even of Lyons, were overwhelmed with consternation; and a fairer opportunity of humbling France could never occur, as that part of the kingdom had been left almost quite defenceless; but this was fatally neglected, either from the spirit of dissension which began to prevail in the allied army, or from the indisposition of the Duke of Savoy, who was seized with the small-pox in the midst of this expedition; or, lastly, from his want of sincerity, which was shrewdly suspected. He is said to have mantained a constant correspondence with the court of Versailles, in complaisance to which he retarded the operations of the confederates. Certain it is, he evacuated all his conquests, and about the middle of September quitted the French territories, after having pillaged and laid waste the country through which he had penetrated*. In Catalonia the French attempted nothing of importance during this campaign, and the Spaniards were wholly inactive in that province.

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§ XXXVII. The protestant interest in Germany acquired an accession of strength, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Hanover. He had, by this time, renounced all his connections with France, and engaged to enter heartily into the interest of the Allies, in consideration of his obtaining the Electoral dignity.

* At this period Queen Mary, understanding that the Protestant Vaudois were destitute of ministers to preach or teach the Gospel, established a fund from her own privy purse, to maintain ten preachers, and as many schoolmasters, in the vallies of Piedmont.

King

BOOK I. 1692. King William exerted himself so vigorously in his behalf at the Court of Vienna, that the Emperor agreed to the proposal in case the consent of the other electors could be procured. This assent, however, was extorted by the importunities of the King of England, whom he durst not disoblige. Leopold was blindly bigotted to the religion of Rome, and consequently averse to a new creation, that would weaken the Catholick interest in the Electoral College. He, therefore, employed his emissaries to thwart the Duke's measures. Some Protestant Princes opposed him from motives of jealousy, and the French King used all his artifice and influence, to prevent the elevation of the House of Hanover. When the Duke had surmounted all this opposition, so far as to gain over a majority of the electors, new objections were started. The Emperor suggested that another Popish Electorate should be created to balance the advantage which the Lutherans would reap from that of Hanover: and he proposed that Austria should be raised to the same dignity: but violent opposition was made to this expedient, which would have vested the Emperor with a double vote in the Electoral College. At length, after a tedious negociation, the Duke of Hanover, on the nineteenth day of December, was honoured with the investiture, as Elector of Brunswick; created Great Marshal of the empire, and did homage to the Emperor: nevertheless, he was not yet admitted into the college, because he had not been able to procure the unanimous consent of all the electors*.

* In the beginning of September the shock of an earthquake was felt in London, and many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta: and the town of Port-Royal in Jamaica was almost totally ruined by an earthquake: the place was so suddenly overflowed, that about fifteen hundred persons perished.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

§ I. *False information against the Earl of Marlborough, the Bishop of Rochester, and others.* § II. *Sources of national discontent.* § III. *Dissension between the Queen and the Princess Anne of Denmark.* § IV. *The House of Lords vindicate their privileges in behalf of their imprisoned members.* § V. *The Commons present addresses to the King and Queen.* § VI. *They acquit Admiral Russel, and resolve to advise his Majesty.* § VII. *They comply with all the demands of the ministry.* § VIII. *The Lords present an address of advice to the King.* § IX. *Dispute between the Lords and Commons concerning Admiral Russel.* § X. *The Commons address the King. They establish the land-tax and other impositions.* § XI. *Burnet's pastoral letter burned by the hangman.* § XII. *Proceedings of the Lower House against the practice of kidnapping men for the service.* § XIII. *The two Houses address the King on the grievances of Ireland.* § XIV. *An Account of the place-bill, and that for triennial Parliaments.* § XV. *The Commons petition his Majesty that he would dissolve the East India Company.* § XVI. *Trial of Lord Mahun for murther. Alterations in the ministry.* § XVII. *The King repairs to the continent, and assembles the confederate army in Flanders.* § XVIII. *The French reduce Huy.* § XIX. *Luxembourg resolves to attack the Allies.* § XX. *Who are defeated at Landen.* § XXI. *Charleroy is besieged and taken by the enemy.* § XXII. *Campaign on the Rhine. The Duke of Savoy is defeated by Catinat in the plain of Marsaglia.* § XXIII. *Transactions in Hungary and Catalonia.* § XXIV. *Naval affairs.* § XXV. *A fleet of merchant ships, under convoy of Sir George Rooke, attacked, and partly destroyed by the French squadrons.* § XXVI. *Wheeler's expedition to the West Indies.* § XXVII.

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Benbow bombards St. Maloes. § XXVIII. *The French King has recourse to the mediation of Denmark.* § XXIX. *Severity of the government against the Jacobites* § XXX. *Complaisance of the Scottish Parliament.* § XXXI. *The King returns to England, makes some changes in the ministry, and opens the session of Parliament.* § XXXII. *Both houses inquire into the miscarriages by sea.* § XXXIII. *The Commons grant a vast sum for the services of the ensuing year.* § XXXIV. *The King rejects the Bill against free and impartial proceedings in Parliament; and the Lower House remonstrates on this subject.* § XXXV. *Establishment of the Bank of England.* § XXXVI. *The East India Company obtain a new charter.* § XXXVII. *Bill for a general naturalization dropped.* § XXXVIII. *Sir Francis Wheeler perishes in a storm.* § XXXIX. *The English attempt to make a descent in Camaret-bay, but are repulsed with loss.* § XL. *They bombard Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, Dunkirk, and Calais.* § XLI. *Admiral Russel sails for the Mediterranean, relieves Barcelona, and winters at Cadiz.* § XLII. *Campaign in Flanders.* § XLIII. *The allies reduce Huy.* § XLIV. *The Prince of Baden passes the Rhine, but is obliged to repass that river. Operations in Hungary.* § XLV. *Progress of the French in Catalonia. State of the war in Piedmont.* § XLVI. *The King returns to England. The Parliament meets. The bill for triennial Parliaments receives the royal assent.* § XLVII. *Death of Archbishop Tillotson and of Queen Mary.* § XLVIII. *Reconciliation between the King and the Princess of Denmark.*

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§ I. WHILE King William seemed wholly engrossed by the affairs of the continent, England was distracted by domestic dissension, and overspread with vice, corruption, and profaneness. Over and above the Jacobites, there was a set of malcontents, whose number daily increased. They not

not only murmured at the grievances of the nation, but composed and published elaborate dissertations upon the same subject. These made such impressions upon the people, already irritated by heavy burthens, distressed in their trade, and disappointed in their sanguine expectations, that the Queen thought it necessary to check the progress of those writers, by issuing out a proclamation, offering a reward to such as would discover seditious libellers. The Earl of Marlborough had been committed to the Tower, on the information of one Robert Young, a prisoner in Newgate, who had forged that nobleman's hand-writing, and contrived the scheme of an association in favour of King James, to which he affixed the names of the Earls of Marlborough and Salisbury, Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, the Lord Cornbury, and Sir Basil Firebrace. One of his emissaries had found means to conceal this paper in a certain part of the Bishop's house, at Bromley in Kent, where it was found by the King's messengers, who secured the Prelate in consequence of Young's information. But he vindicated himself to the satisfaction of the whole council; and the forgery of the informer was detected by the confession of his accomplice. The Bishop optained his release immediately, and the Earl of Marlborough was admitted to bail in the court of King's Bench.

§ II. So many persons of character and distinction had been imprisoned during this reign, upon the slightest suspicion, that the discontented part of the nation had some reason to insinuate, they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. They affirmed, that the Habeas-Corpus Act was either insufficient to protect the subject from false imprisonment, or had been shamefully misused. They expatiated upon the loss of ships, which had lately fallen a prey to the enemy; the consumption of seamen; the neglect of the fisheries; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was supplanted by her allies, as

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well as invaded by her enemies; the low ebb of the kingdom's treasure, exhausted in hiring foreign bottoms, and paying foreign troops to fight foreign quarrels; and the slaughter of the best and bravest of their countrymen, whose blood had been lavishly spilt in support of connections with which they ought to have had no concern. They demonstrated the mischiefs that necessarily arose from the unsettled state of the nation. They observed that the government could not be duly established, until a solemn declaration should confirm the legality of that tenure by which their Majesties possessed the throne; that the structure of parliaments was deficient in point of solidity, as they existed entirely at the pleasure of the Crown, which would use them no longer than they should be found necessary in raising supplies for the use of the government. They exclaimed against the practice of quartering soldiers in private houses, contrary to the ancient laws of the land, the petition of rights, and the subsequent act on that subject passed in the reign of the second Charles. They enumerated among their grievances the violation of property, by pressing transport ships into the service without settling any fund of payment for the owners: the condition of the militia, which was equally burthensome and useless; the flagrant partiality in favour of allies, who carried on an open commerce with France, and supplied the enemy with necessaries, while the English laboured under the severest prohibitions, and were in effect the dupes of those very powers whom they protected. They dwelt upon the ministry's want of conduct, foresight, and intelligence, and inveighed against their ignorance, insolence, and neglect, which were as pernicious to the nation as if they had formed a design of reducing it to the lowest ebb of disgrace and destruction. By this time, indeed, publick virtue was become the object of ridicule, and the whole kingdom was overspread with immorality and corruption; towards the increase of which,

many

many concurring circumstances happened to contribute. The people were divided into three parties, namely, the Williamites, the Jacobites, and the discontented revolutioners: these factions took all opportunities to thwart, to expose, and to ridicule the measures and principles of each other: so that patriotism was laughed out of doors, as an hypocritical pretence. This contention established a belief that every man consulted his own private interest at the expence of the publick: a belief that soon grew into a maxim almost universally adopted. The practice of bribing a majority in Parliament had a pernicious influence upon the morals of all ranks of people, from the candidate to the lowest borough-elector. The expedient of establishing funds of credit for raising supplies to defray the expences of government threw large premiums and sums of money into the hands of low, sordid usurers, brokers, and jobbers, who distinguished themselves by the name of the Monied-Interest. Intoxicated by this flow of wealth, they affected to rival the luxury and magnificence of their superiors; but being destitute of sentiment and taste, to conduct them in their new career, they ran into the most absurd and illiberal extravagancies. They laid aside all decorum; became lewd, insolent, intemperate, and riotous. Their example was caught by the vulgar. All principle, and even decency, was gradually banished; talent lay uncultivated, and the land was deluged with a tide of ignorance and profligacy. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§ III. King William having ascertained the winter-quarters of the army, and concerted the operations of the ensuing campaign with the States-General, and the ministers of the Allies, set sail for England on the fifteenth day of October: on the eighteenth landed at Yarmouth, was met by the Queen at Newhall, and passed through the city of London to Kensington, amidst the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory address from the Lord-Mayor

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Mayor and Aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thanksgiving was appointed for the victory obtained at sea. The lute-string company was established by patent, and the Parliament met on the fourth day of November. The House of Lords was deeply infected with discontent, which in some measure proceeded from the dissension between the Queen and her sister the Princess of Denmark, which last underwent every mortification that the Court could inflict. Her guards were taken away: all honours which had been paid to her rank by the magistrates of Bath, where she sometimes resided, and even by the ministers of the church where she attended at divine service, were discontinued, by the express order of his Majesty. Her cause was naturally espoused by those noblemen who had adhered to her in her former contest with the King, about an independent settlement; and these were now reinforced by all the friends of the Earl of Marlborough, united by a double tie; for they resented the disgrace and confinement of that Lord, and thought it their duty to support the Princess Anne under a prosecution incurred by an attachment to his Countess. The Earl of Shrewsbury lived in friendship with Marlborough, and thought he had been ungratefully treated by the King: the Marquis of Halifax befriended him, from opposition to the ministry: the Earl of Mulgrave, for an opportunity to display his talents, and acquire that consideration which he thought due to his merit. Devonshire, Montague, and Bradford, joined in the same cause from principle: the same pretence was used by the Earls of Stamford, Monmouth, Warrington, and other Whigs, though in effect they were actuated by jealousy and resentment against those by whom they had been supplanted. As for the Jacobites, they gladly contributed their assistance to promote any scheme that had a tendency to embroil the administration.

§ IV.

§ IV. The King, in his speech to Parliament, thanked them for their last supplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained at sea, condoled them upon the bad success of the campaign by land, magnified the power of France, represented the necessity of maintaining a great force to oppose it, and demanded subsidies equal to the occasion. He expressed his reluctance to load them with additional burthens, which, he said, could not be avoided, without exposing his kingdom to inevitable destruction. He desired their advice towards lessening the inconvenience of exporting money for the payment of the forces. He intimated a design of making a descent upon France; declared he had no aim but to make his subjects a happy people; and that he would again cheerfully expose his life for the welfare of the nation. The Lords, after an adjournment of three days, began with great warmth to assert their privileges, which they conceived had been violated in the cases of the Earl of Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had been apprehended, committed to prison, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of King's-bench. These circumstances being fully discussed in a violent debate, the House ordered Lord Lucas, Constable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the King's-bench to deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the court-solicitor, upon which the Lords had been remanded to prison. At the same time, the whole affair was referred to a committee, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records. The Judges were ordered to attend: Aaron Smith was examined, touching the evidence against the committed Lords. The committee reported their general resolution, which produced a vehement dispute. The opinion of the Judges was unsatisfactory to both parties: the debate was referred to a committee of the whole House, in which it was resolved, and declared, as the sense of that

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assembly, that in pursuance of the Habeas Corpus act, it was the duty of the Judges and Gaol-delivery to discharge the prisoner on bail, if committed for high-treason, unless it be made appear, upon oath, that there are two witnesses against the said prisoner, who cannot be produced in that term, session, or general gaol-delivery. They likewise resolved it was the intention of the said statute, that in case there should be more than one prisoner to be bailed or remanded, there must be oath made that there are two witnesses against each prisoner, otherwise he cannot be remanded to prison. These resolutions were entered in the books, as standing directions to all future Judges, yet not without great opposition from the court-members. The next debate turned upon the manner in which the imprisoned Lords should be set at liberty. The contest became so warm, that the courtiers began to be afraid, and proposed an expedient, which was put in practice. The House adjourned to the seventeenth day of the month, and at its next meeting was given to understand, that the King had discharged the imprisoned noblemen. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the Journals, importing, That the House being informed of his Majesty's having given directions for discharging the Lords under bail in the King's-Bench, the debate about that matter ceased. The resentment of the Peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his Majesty's speech into consideration.

§ V. The Commons having voted an address of thanks, and another praying that his Majesty's foreign alliances should be laid before them, determined on a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason. They passed a vote of thanks to Admiral Russel, his officers, and seamen, for the victory they had obtained, and then proceeded to an inquiry, why that victory had not been pursued; why the descent

descent had not been made; and why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy's cruisers. The Admiral having justified his own conduct, they commanded the Lords of the Admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been sent to the Admiral: they ordered Russel to lay before them his answers, and the Commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and Office of Ordnance to deliver in an account of their proceedings. Then they presented addresses to the King and Queen, acknowledging the favour of God in restoring him to his people; congratulating him upon his deliverance from the snares of his open and secret enemies; and assuring him they would, according to his Majesty's desire in his most gracious speech, be always ready to advise and assist him in the support of his government. The Queen was thanked for her gracious and prudent administration during his Majesty's absence; they congratulated her on their signal deliverance from a bold and cruel design formed for their destruction, as well as on the glorious victory which her fleet had gained; and they assured her that the grateful sense they had of their happiness under her government, should always be manifested in constant returns of duty and obedience. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§ VI. After this formal compliment, the House, instead of proceeding to the supplies, insisted upon perusing the treaties, publick accounts, and estimates, that they might be in a condition to advise, as well as to assist his Majesty. Being indulged with those papers, they passed a previous vote, that a supply should be given; then they began to concert their articles of advice. Some of the members loudly complained of partiality to foreign Generals, and particularly reflected upon the insolence of Count Solmes, and his misconduct at Steenkerke. After some warm altercation, the house resolved one

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article of their advice should be, That his Majesty would be pleased to fill up the vacancies that should happen among the general officers, with such only as were natives of his dominions, and that the commander in chief of the English should be an Englishman. Their next resolution implied, That many of the great affairs of the government having been for some time past unsuccessfully managed, the House should advise his Majesty to prevent such mischiefs for the future, by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity. Individual members inveighed bitterly against cabinet councils, as a novelty in the British system of government, by which the privy-council was jostled out of its province. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from its vicious principles of the ministry: they observed that he who opposed the establishment could not be expected to support it with zeal. The Earl of Nottingham was mentioned by name, and the House resolved that his Majesty should be advised to employ in his councils such persons only whose principles obliged them to support his rights against the late King, and all other pretenders. Marlborough's interest still predominated among the Commons. His friend Russel acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the House, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the Earl of Nottingham, by declaring that twenty days elapsed between his first letter to that nobleman and his lordship's answer. The Earl's friends, of whom there was a great number in the House, espoused his cause with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Russel; so that a very violent debate ensued. Both parties agreed that there had been mismanagement in the scheme of a descent. It was moved, that one cause of the miscarriage was the want of giving timely and necessary orders, by those to whom the management of

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the affair was committed. The House divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. At the next sitting of the committee, Sir Richard Temple proposed they should consider how to pay the forces abroad, by means of English manufactures, without exporting money. They resolved, that the House should be moved to appoint a committee to take this expedient into consideration. Sir Francis Winnington was immediately called upon to leave the chair, and the Speaker resumed his place. All that had been done was now void, as no report had been made; and the committee was dissolved. The House, however, revived it, and appointed a day for its sitting; but before it could resume its deliberations, Admiral Russel moved for its being adjourned, and all its purposes were defeated. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§ VII. The Court agents had by this time interposed and secured a majority by the infamous arts of corruption. The Commons no longer insisted upon their points of advice. Their whole attention was now centred in the article of assistance. They granted about two millions for the maintenance of three-and-thirty thousand seamen, the building of some additional ships of war, and the finishing of Plymouth-dock; and seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds to supply the deficiency of the quarterly poll. The estimates of the land-service were not discussed without tedious debates, and warm disputes. The ministry demanded fifty-four thousand men, twenty thousand of whom should be kept at home for the defence of the nation, while the rest should serve abroad in the allied army. Many members declared their aversion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate concern, and so little prospect of success. Others agreed that the Allies should be assisted on the continent with a proportion of British forces; but that the nation should act as an auxiliary, not as a principal, and pay no more than what the people would chearfully contribute

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tribute to the general expence. These reflections, however, produced no other effect than that of prolonging the debate. Ministerial influence had surmounted all opposition. The House voted the number of men demanded. Such was their servile complaisance, that when they examined the treaties by which the English and Dutch contracted equally with the German Princes, and found that, notwithstanding these treaties, Britain bore two-thirds of the expence, they overlooked this flagrant instance of partiality, and enabled the King to pay the proportion. Nay, their maxims were so much altered, that, instead of prosecuting their resentment against foreign Generals, they assented to a motion that the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Major-Generals Tetteau and La Forest, who commanded the Danish troops in the pay of the States-General, should be indulged with such an addition to their appointments as would make up the difference between the pay of England and that of Holland. Finally, they voted above two millions for the subsistence of the land forces, and for defraying extraordinary expences attending the war upon the Continent, including subsidies to the Electors of Saxony and Hanover.

§ VIII. The House of Lords meanwhile was not free from animosity and contention. The Marlborough faction exerted themselves with great vivacity. They affirmed, it was the province of their House to advise the Sovereign: like the Commons they insisted upon the King's having asked their advice, because he had mentioned that word in his speech, though he never dreamed that they would catch at it with such eagerness. They moved that the task of digesting the articles of advice should be undertaken by a joint committee of both Houses; but all the dependents of the Court, including the whole bench of Bishops, except Watson of St. David's, were marshalled to oppose this motion, which

which was rejected by a majority of twelve; and this victory was followed with a protest of the vanquished. Notwithstanding this defeat, they prosecuted their scheme of giving advice; and after much wrangling and declamation, the House agreed in an address or remonstrance, advising and beseeching his Majesty that the commanding officer of the British forces should be an Englishman: that English officers might take rank of those in the confederate armies, who did not belong to crowned heads: that the twenty thousand men to be left for the defence of the kingdom should be all English, and commanded by an English General: that the practice of pressing men for the fleet should be remedied: that such officers as were guilty of this practice should be cashiered and punished: and, lastly, that no foreigners should sit at the board of Ordnance. This address was presented to the King, who received it coldly, and said he would take it into consideration. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§. IX. Then the Lords resolved to inquire into the miscarriage of the purposed descent, and called for all the papers relating to that affair: but the aim of the majority was not so much to rectify the errors of the government as to screen Nottingham, and censure Russel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the Admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The House directed the Earl to draw up the substance of his charge; and these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the Commons, at a conference by the Lord-President, and the rest of the committee above. They were offered for the inspection of the Commons, as they concerned some members of that House, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they

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they contained. At another conference, which the Commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the House, that they had read and well considered the papers which their Lordships had sent them, and which they now returned: that, finding Mr. Russel, one of their members, often mentioned in the said papers, they had unanimously resolved, that Admiral Russel, in his command of the fleets, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The Lords, irritated at this declaration, and disappointed in their resentment against Russel, desired a free conference between the committees of both Houses. The Earl of Rochester told the Commons, he was commanded by the House of Lords to inform them, that their Lordships looked upon the late vote and proceedings of the Lower House, in returning their papers, to be irregular and unparliamentary, as they had not communicated to their Lordships the lights they had received, and the reasons upon which their vote was founded. A paper to the same purport was delivered to Colonel Granville, who promised to present it to the Commons, and make a faithful report of what his Lordship had said. Thus the conference ended, and the inquiry was discontinued.

§ X. The Lower House seemed to be as much exasperated against the Earl of Nottingham as the Lords were incensed at Russel. A motion was made that his Majesty should be advised to appoint such commissioners of the board of Admiralty, as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was over-ruled, they voted an address to the King, praying, that for the future, all orders for the management of the fleet might pass through the hands of the said commissioners; a protest by implication against the conduct of the secretary. The consideration of ways and means was the next object that engrossed the attention of the

the Lower House. They resolved that a rate of four shillings in the pound, for one year, should be charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value: as also upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and employments of profit, other than military offices in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution empowered the King to borrow money on the credit of it, at seven per cent. They further enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the Exchequer, by granting annuities. They laid several new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it should not produce three hundred thousand pounds, the deficiencies might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the Exchequer. They continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, for five years; and those on East-India goods for four years. They laid a new imposition of eight per cent. on the capital stock of the East-India Company, estimated at seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's-Bay company; and they empowered his Majesty to borrow five hundred thousand pounds on these funds, which were expressly established for maintaining the war with vigour*. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§ XI. The money-bills were retarded in the Upper-House, by the arts of Halifax, Mulgrave, and other malcontents. They grafted a clause on the land-tax bill, importing, that the Lords should tax themselves. It was adopted by the majority, and the bill sent with this amendment to the Commons, by whom it was unanimously rejected as a flagrant attempt upon their privileges. They demanded a

* The French King hearing how liberally William was supplied, exclaimed with some emotion, "My little cousin the Prince of "Orange is fixed in the saddle—but, no matter, the last Louis d'or "must carry it."

conference

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conference, in which they declared that the clause in question was a notorious encroachment upon the right the Commons possessed, of regulating all matters relating to supplies granted by Parliament. When this report was debated in the House of Lords, the Earl of Mulgrave displayed uncommon powers of eloquence and argument, in persuading the House, that by yielding to this claim of the Commons, they would divest themselves of their true greatness, and nothing would remain but the name and shadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. Notwithstanding all his oratory, the Lords relinquished their clause, declaring, at the same time, that they had agreed to pass the bill without alteration, merely in regard to the present urgent state of affairs, as being otherwise of opinion, that they had a right to insist upon their clause. A formal complaint being made in the House of Commons against the pamphlet, entitled, "King William and Queen Mary Conquerors," as containing assertions of dangerous consequence to their Majesties, to the liberty of the subject, and the peace of the kingdom, the licenser and printer were taken into custody. The book being examined, they resolved that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and, that the King should be moved to dismiss the licenser from his employment. The same sentence they pronounced upon a pastoral letter of Bishop Burnet, in which this notion of conquest had been at first asserted. The Lords, in order to manifest their sentiments on the same subject, resolved, That such an assertion was highly injurious to their Majesties, inconsistent with the principles on which the Government was founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people. Bohun, the licenser, was brought to the bar of the House, and discharged upon his own petition, after having been reprimanded on his knees by the Speaker.

§ XII. Several members having complained that their servants had been kidnapped, and sent to serve as soldiers in Flanders, the House appointed a committee to inquire into the abuses committed by press-masters; and a suitable remonstrance was presented to the King, who expressed his indignation at this practice, and assured the House that the delinquents should be brought to exemplary punishment: Understanding, however, in the sequel, that the methods taken by his Majesty for preventing this abuse had not proved effectual, they resumed their inquiry, and proceeded with uncommon vigour on the information they received. A great number of persons who had been pressed were discharged by order of the House: and Captain Winter, the chief undertaker of this method of recruiting the army, was carried by the Serjeant before the Lord Chief Justice, that he might be prosecuted according to law. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§ XIII. Before the heats occasioned by this unpopular expedient were allayed, the discontent of the nation was further inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where Lord Sidney was said to rule with despotic authority. These complaints were exhibited by Sir Francis Brewster, Sir William Gore, Sir John Macgill, Lieutenant Stafford, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the House, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both Houses concurred in this inquiry, which being finished, they severally presented addresses to the King. The Lords observed, That there had been great abuses in disposing of the forfeited estates: That protections had been granted to the Irish not included in the articles of Limerick; so that Protestants were deprived of the benefit of the law against them: That the quarters of the army had not been paid according to the provison made by Parliament: That a mayor had been imposed upon the city of Dublin for two years successively, contrary

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contrary to the ancient privileges and charter: That several persons accused of murder had been executed without proof; and one Sweetman, the most guilty, discharged without prosecution. The Commons spoke more freely in their address: they roundly explained the abuses and mismanagement of that government, by exposing the Protestant subjects to the free quarter and violence of a licentious army; by recruiting the troops with Irish Papists, who had been in open rebellion against his Majesty; by granting protections to Irish Roman Catholics, whereby the course of the law was stopped: by reversing outlawries for high treason, not comprehended in the articles of Limerick; by letting the forfeited estates at under value, to the prejudice of his Majesty's revenue; by embezzling the stores left in the towns and garrisons by the late King James, as well as the effects belonging to the forfeited estate, which might have been employed for the better preservation of the kingdom; and, finally, by making additions to the articles of Limerick, after the capitulation was signed, and the place surrendered. They most humbly besought his Majesty to redress these abuses, which had greatly encouraged the Papists, and weakened the Protestant interest in Ireland. The King graciously received both addresses, and promised to pay a particular regard to all remonstrances that should come from either House of Parliament: but no material step was taken against the Lords Sidney, Athlone, and Coningsby, who appeared to have engrossed great part of the forfeitures by grants from the Crown; and even Commissioner Culliford, who had been guilty of the most grievous acts of oppression, escaped with impunity.

§ XIV. The old Whig principle was not yet wholly expelled from the Lower House. The undue influence of the Court was exerted in such an open, scandalous manner, as gave offence to the majority of the Commons. In the midst of all their condescension,

scension, Sir Edward Hussey, member for Lincoln, brought in a bill touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament. It was intended to disable all members of Parliament from enjoying places of trust and profit, and particularly levelled against the officers of the army and navy, who had insinuated themselves into the House in such numbers, that this was commonly called the Officers' Parliament. The bill passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, by whom it was read a second time, and committed: but the ministry employing their whole strength against it, on the report it was thrown out by a majority of two voices. The Earl of Mulgrave again distinguished himself by his elocution, in a speech that was held in great veneration by the people; and among those who entered a protest in the journals of the House, when the majority rejected the bill, was Prince George of Denmark, Duke of Cumberland. The Court had not recollected themselves from the consternation produced by such a vigorous opposition, when the Earl of Shrewsbury produced another bill for triennial Parliaments, providing that there should be an annual session; that if, at the expiration of three years, the Crown should not order the Writs to be issued, the Lord Chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal, should issue them *ex officio*, and by authority of this act, under severe penalties. The immediate object of this bill was the dissolution of the present Parliament, which had already sat three sessions, and began to be formidable to the people from its concessions to the ministry. The benefits that would accrue to the constitution from the establishment of triennial Parliaments were very well understood, as these points had been frequently discussed in former reigns. The courtiers now objected, that frequent elections would render the freeholders proud and insolent, encourage faction among the electors, and entail a continual expence

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BOOK I. upon the member, as he would find himself obliged, during the whole time of his sitting, to behave like a candidate, conscious how soon the time of election would revolve. In spite of the ministerial interest in the Upper House, the bill passed, and contained a proviso, that the present Parliament should not continue any longer than the month of January next ensuing. The Court renewed its efforts against it in the House of Commons, where, nevertheless, it was carried, with some little alterations, which the Lords approved. But all these endeavours were frustrated by the prerogative of the King, who, by refusing his assent, prevented its being enacted into a law.

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§ XV. It was at the instigation of the ministry, that the Commons brought in a bill for continuing and explaining certain temporary laws then expiring or expired. Among these was an act for restraining the liberty of the press, which owed its original to the reign of Charles II. and had been revived in the first year of the succeeding reign. The bill passed the Lower House without difficulty, but met with warm opposition in the House of Lords; a good number of whom protested against it, as a law that subjected all learning and true information to the arbitrary will of a mercenary, and, perhaps, ignorant licenser, destroyed the properties of authors, and extended the evil of monopolies. The bill for regulating trials was dropped, and, in lieu of it, another produced for the preservation of their Majesties' sacred persons and government: but this too was rejected by the majority, in consequence of the ministry's secret management. The East India Company narrowly escaped dissolution. Petitions and counter-petitions were delivered into the House of Commons: the pretensions on both sides were carefully examined: a committee of the whole House resolved that there should be a new subscription of a joint-stock, not exceeding two millions five hundred

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dred thousand pounds, to continue for one-and-twenty years. The report was made and received, and the public expected to see the affair brought to a speedy issue: but the company had recourse to the same expedients, which had lately proved so successful in the hands of the ministry. Those who had been the most warm in detecting their abuses suddenly cooled; and the prosecution of the affair began to languish. Not but that the House presented an address to his Majesty, praying that he would dissolve the company upon three years' warning, according to the condition of their charter. He told them he would consider their address; and they did not further urge their remonstrance. The bill for ascertaining the commissions and salaries of the Judges, to which the King had refused the royal assent in the last session, was revived, twice read, and rejected; and another, for preventing the exportation and melting of the coin, they suffered to lie neglected on the table. On the fourteenth day of March, the King put an end to the session, after having thanked the Parliament for so great testimonies of their affection, and promised the supplies should not be misapplied. He observed, that the posture of affairs called him abroad; but that he would leave a sufficient number of troops for the security of the kingdom: he assured them he would expose his person upon all occasions for the advantage of these kingdoms; and use his utmost endeavours to make them a flourishing nation*.

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§ XVI.

* The other laws made in this session were these that follow:—An Act for preventing suits against such as had acted for their Majesties' service in defence of this kingdom—An Act for raising the militia in the year 1693—An Act authorising the judges to empower such persons, other than common attornies and solicitors, as they should think fit, to take special bail, except in London, Westminster, and ten miles round—An Act to encourage the apprehending of highwaymen—An Act for preventing clandestine marriages—An Act for the regaining, encouraging, and settling the Greenland trade—An Act to prevent malicious informations in the Court of King's Bench,

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§ XVI. During the course of this session, Lord Mohun was indicted and tried by his peers, in Westminster-hall, as an accomplice in the murder of one Montford, a celebrated comedian, the Marquis of Caermarthen acting as Lord-Steward upon this occasion. The Judges having been consulted, the peers proceeded to give their judgments *seriatim*, and Mohun was acquitted by a great majority. The King, who, from his first accession to the throne, had endeavoured to trim the balance between the Whigs and Tories, by mingling them together in his ministry, made some alterations at this period, that savoured of the same policy. The great seal, with the title of Lord Keeper, was bestowed upon Sir John Somers, who was well skilled in the law, as in many other branches of polite and useful literature. He possessed a remarkable talent for business, in which he exerted great patience and assiduity; was gentle, candid, and equitable: a Whig in principles, yet moderate, pacific, and conciliating. Of the same temper was Sir John Trenchard, now appointed Secretary of State. He had been concerned with the Duke of Monmouth, and escaped to the continent, where he lived some years; was calm, sedate, well acquainted with foreign affairs, and considered as a leading man in his party. These two are said to have been promoted at the recommendation of the Earl of Sunderland, who had by this time insinuated himself into the King's favour and confidence; though his success confirmed the opinion which many entertained, of his having betrayed his old master. The leaders of the opposition, were Sir Edward Seymour,

Bench, and for the more easy reversal of outlawries in that Court—An Act for the better discovery of judgments in the Courts of Law—An Act for delivering declarations to prisoners for debt—An Act for regulating proceedings in the Crown Office—An Act for the more easy discovery and conviction of such as should destroy the game of this kingdom—And an Act for continuing the Acts for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France, and for the encouragement of privateers.

again

again become a malcontent, and Sir Christopher Musgrave, a gentleman of Cumberland, who, though an extravagant Tory from principle, had refused to concur with all the designs of the late King. He was a person of a grave and regular deportment, who had rejected many offers of the ministry, which he opposed with great violence; yet on some critical occasions, his patriotism gave way to his avarice, and he yielded up some important points, in consideration of large sums which he received from the Court in secret. Others declared war against the Administration, because they thought their own talents were not sufficiently considered. Of these the chief were Paul Foley and Robert Harley. The first was a lawyer of good capacity, extensive learning, and virtuous principles, but peevish, obstinate, and morose. He entertained a very despicable opinion of the Court; and this he propagated with equal assiduity and success. Harley possessed a good fund of learning; was capable of uncommon application, particularly turned to politics. He knew the forms of Parliament, had a peculiar dexterity at protracting and perplexing debates; and cherished the most aspiring ambition. Admiral Russel was created Treasurer of the Household; but the command of the fleet was vested in the hands of Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel. Sir George Rooke was declared Vice-Admiral of the red, and John Lord Berkeley, of the blue division; their Rear-Admirals were Matthew Aylmer and David Mitchel.

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Burnet. History of K. W. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Slone's Nar. Feuquieres. Voltaire. Ralph. Tindal. State Tracts.

§ XVII. The King having visited the fleet and fortifications at Portsmouth, given instructions for annoying the enemy by sea, and left the administration in the hands of the Queen, embarked on the last day of March, near Gravesend, and arrived in Holland on the third of April. The troops of the Confederates were forthwith ordered to assemble: but while he was employed in making preparations for the campaign, the French King actually took the field,

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field, attended by Madame de Maintenon, and all the court ladies. His design was supposed to be upon some town in Brabant; his army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, completely armed, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries for every sort of military operation. King William immediately took possession of the strong camp at Parke near Louvain, a situation which enabled him to cover the places that were most exposed. Understanding that the French emissaries had sown the seeds of dissension between the Bishop and Chapter of Liege, he sent the Duke of Wirtemberg thither, to reconcile the different parties, and concert measures for the further security of the place. He reinforced the garrison with nine battalions; and the Elector Palatine lay with his troops in readiness to march to its relief. William likewise threw reinforcements into Maestricht, Huy, and Charleroy; and he himself resolved to remain on the defensive, at the head of sixty thousand men, with a numerous train of artillery.

§ XVIII. Louis having reviewed his army at Gemblours, and seen his designs upon Brabant defeated by the diligence of his antagonist, detached Boufflers with twenty thousand men to the Upper Rhine, to join the Dauphin, who commanded in that quarter: then leaving the conduct of his forces in the Netherlands to the Duke de Luxembourg, he returned with his Court to Versailles. Immediately after his departure, Luxembourg fixed his head-quarters at Mildert; and King William strengthened his camp on that side with ten battalions, and eight-and-twenty pieces of cannon. The enemy's convoys were frequently surprised by detachments from the garrison of Charleroy; and a large body of horse, foot, and dragoons, being drafted out of Liege and Maestricht, took post at Huy, under the command of the Count de Tilly, so as to straiten the French in their quarters. These, however, were dislodged by

by Luxembourg in person, who obliged the Count to pass the Jaar with precipitation, leaving behind three squadrons and all his baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy. This check, however, was balanced by the success of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who, at the head of thirteen battalions of infantry, and twenty squadrons of horse, forced the French lines between the Scheldt and the Lys; and laid the whole country as far as Lisle under contribution. On that very day, which was the eighteenth of July, Luxembourg marched towards Huy, which was next morning invested by M. de Villeroy. The other covered the siege, and secured himself from the Allies by lines of contravallation. Before the batteries began to play, the town capitulated. On the twenty-third day of the month, the garrison mutinied; the castles were surrendered; the Governor remained a prisoner; and his men were conducted to Liege. The confederate army advanced in order to relieve the town: but the King being apprised of its fate, detached ten battalions to reinforce the garrison of Liege, and next day returned to Neer-Hespen.

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§ XIX. Luxembourg made a motion towards Liege, as if he had intended to besiege the place; and encamped at Hellecheim, about seven leagues from the Confederates. Knowing how much they were weakened by the different detachments which had been made from their army, he resolved to attack them in their camp, or at least fall upon their rear, should they retreat at his approach. On the twenty-eighth day of July, he began his march in four columns, and passed the Jaar near its source with an army superior to the Allies by five-and-thirty thousand men. The King of England, at first, looked upon this motion as a feint to cover the design upon Liege; but receiving intelligence that the whole army was in full march to attack him in his camp, he resolved to keep his ground; and immediately

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mediately drew up his forces in order of battle. His general officers advised him to repass the Geete: but he chose to risque a battle, rather than expose the rear of his army in repassing that river. His right wing extended as far as Neer-Winden, along the Geete, covered with hedges, hollow ways, and a small rivulet; the left reached to Neer-Landen; and these two villages were joined by a slight entrenchment, which the King ordered to be thrown up in the evening. Brigadier Ramsey, with the regiments of O'Farrel, Mackay, Lauder, Leven, and Monroe, were ordered to the right of the whole army, to line some hedges and hollow ways on the farther side of the village of Lare. Six battalions of Brandenburg were posted to the left of this village; and General Dumont, with the Hanoverian infantry, possessed the village of Neer-Winden, which covered part of the camp, between the main body and the right wing of the cavalry. Neer-Landen on the left, was secured by six battalions of English, Danes, and Dutch. The remaining infantry was drawn up in one line behind the entrenchment. The dragoons upon the left guarded the village of Dormal upon the brook of Beck; and from thence the left wing of horse extended to Neer-Landen, where it was covered by this rivulet.

§ XX. The King having visited all the posts on horseback, and given the necessary orders, reposed himself about two hours in his coach; and early in the morning sent for his chaplain, whom he joined in prayer with great devotion. At sun-rising the enemy appeared drawn up in order of battle; and the Allies began to play their cannon with good success. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden with great fury; and twice made themselves masters of these posts, from whence they were as often repulsed. The Allies still kept their ground; and the Duke of Berwick was taken by his uncle Brigadier Churchill.

Then

Then the French made an attack upon the left wing of the Confederates at Neer-Landen; and after a very obstinate dispute, were obliged to give way, though they still keep possesion of the avenues. The Prince of Conti, however, renewed the charge with the flower of the French infantry; and the Confederates being overpowered, retreated from the village, leaving the camp in that part exposed. Villeroy marching this way with a body of horse, was encountered and repulsed by the Count D'Arco, General of the Bavarian cuirassiers; and the Duke de Chartres narrowly escaped being taken. Mean while, Luxembourg, the Prince of Conti, the Count de Marsin, and the Marshal de Joyeuse, charged on the right, and in different parts of the line, with such impetuosity as surmounted all resistance. The camp of the Confederates was immediately filled with French troops: the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden were taken, after a long and desperate dispute. The Hanoverian and Dutch horse being broken, the King in person brought the English cavalry to their assistance. They fought with great gallantry; and for some time retarded the fate of the day. The infantry were rallied, and stood firm until all their ammunition was expended. In a word, they were scarce able to sustain the weight of such a superiority in point of number; when the Marquis D'Harcourt joined the enemy from Huy, with two-and-twenty fresh squadrons, which immediately turned the scale in their favour. The Elector of Bavaria, after having made extraordinary efforts, retreated with great difficulty over the bridge to the other side of the river, where he rallied the troops, in order to favour the retreat of those who had not passed. The King seeing the battle lost, and the whole army in confusion, retired with the infantry to Dormal on the brook of Beck, where the dragoons of the left wing were posted, and then ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway,

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to

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to cover his retreat over the bridge at Neer-Hespen, which he effected with great difficulty. Now all was tumult, rout, and consternation; and a great number of the fugitives threw themselves into the river, where they were drowned. This had like to have been the fate of the brave Earl of Athlone: the Duke of Ormond was wounded in several places, and taken prisoner by the enemy; and the Count de Solmes was mortally wounded. Ptolemache brought off the greater part of the English infantry with great gallantry and conduct; as for the baggage, it had been sent to Liege before the engagement; but the Confederates lost sixty pieces of cannon, and nine mortars, a great number of standards and colours*, with about seven thousand men killed and wounded in the action. It must be owned that the Allies fought with great valour and perseverance; and that King William made prodigious efforts of courage and activity to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was present in all parts of the battle; he charged in person both on horseback and on foot, where the danger was most imminent. His peruke, the sleeve of his coat, and the knot of his scarf were penetrated by three different musket-bullets; and he saw a great number of soldiers fall on every side of him. The enemy bore witness to his extraordinary valour. The Prince of Conti, in a letter to his Princess, which was intercepted, declared that he saw the Prince of Orange exposing himself to the greatest dangers; and that such valour richly deserved the peaceable possession of the crown he wore. Yet, here, as in every other battle he fought, his conduct and disposition were severely censured. Luxembourg having observed the nature of his situation immediately before the engagement, is said to have exclaimed, "Now,

* The Duke of Luxembourg sent such a number of standards and ensigns to Paris, during the course of this war, that the Prince of Conti called him the Upholsterer of Notre Dame, a church in which those trophies were displayed.

I believe,

I believe, Waldeck is really dead;" alluding to that General's known sagacity in choosing ground for an encampment. Be that as it will, he paid dear for his victory. His loss in officers and men exceeded that of the Allies; and he reaped no solid advantage from the battle. He remained fifteen days inactive at Waren, while King William, recalling the Duke of Wirtemberg, and drafting troops from Liege and other garrisons, was in a few days able to hazard another engagement. CHAP. IV. 1693.

§ XXI. Nothing remarkable happened during the remaining part of the campaign, until Luxembourg, being rejoined by Boufflers with a strong reinforcement for the Rhine, invested Charleroy. He had taken his measures with such caution and dexterity, that the Allies could not frustrate his operations, without attacking his lines at a great disadvantage. The King detached the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons, to make a diversion in Flanders; but they returned in a few days, without having attempted any thing of consequence. The garrison of Charleroy defended the place with surprising valour, from the tenth of September to the eleventh of October, during which period they had repulsed the assailants in several attacks; but, at length, despairing of relief, the Governor capitulated on the most honourable conditions; the reduction of the place was celebrated with a *Te Deum*, and other rejoicings at Paris. Louis, however, in the midst of all his glory, was extremely mortified when he reflected upon the little advantage he had reaped from all his late victories. The Allies had been defeated successively at Flerus, Steenkerke, and Landen; yet in a fortnight after each of those battles, William was always in a condition to risque another engagement. Formerly, Louis had conquered half of Holland, Flanders, and Franche-Comté, without a battle; whereas, now he could not with his utmost

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utmost efforts, and after the most signal victories, pass the frontiers of the United Provinces. The conquest of Charleroy concluded the campaign in the Netherlands, and both armies went into winter quarters.

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§ XXII. The French army on the Rhine, under De Lorges, passed that river in the month of May at Philipsburgh, and invested the city of Heidelberg, which they took, plundered, and reduced to ashes. This General committed numberless barbarities in the Palatinate, which he ravaged without even sparing the tombs of the dead. The French soldiers, on this occasion, seem to have been actuated by the most brutal inhumanity. They butchered the inhabitants, violated the women, plundered the houses, rifled the churches, and murdered the priests at the altar. They broke open the Electoral vault, and scattered the ashes of that illustrious family about the streets. They set fire to different quarters of the city; they stripped about fifteen thousand of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, and drove them naked into the castle, that the garrison might be the sooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like cattle in the open air, without food or covering, tortured between the horrors of their fate and the terrors of a bombardment. When they were set at liberty, in consequence of the fort's being surrendered, a great number of them died along the banks of the Neckar, from cold, hunger, anguish, and despair. These enormous cruelties, which would have disgraced the arms of a Tartarian freebooter, were acted by the express command of Louis XIV. of France, who has been celebrated by so many venal pens, not only as the greatest Monarch, but also as the most polished Prince of Christendom. De Lorges advanced towards the Neckar against the Prince of Baden, who lay encamped on the other side of the river; but in attempting to pass, he was twice repulsed with considerable damage.

mage. The Dauphin joining the army, which now amounted to seventy thousand men, crossed without opposition: but found the Germans so advantageously posted, that he would not hazard an attack: having, therefore, repassed the river, he secured Stutgard with a garrison, sent detachments into Flanders and Piedmont, and returned in August to Versailles. In Piedmont the Allies were still more unfortunate. The Duke of Savoy and his confederates seemed bent upon driving the French from Casal and Pignerol. The first of these places was blocked up, and the other actually invested. The fort of St. Bridget, that covered the place, was taken, and the town bombarded. Mean while Catinat being reinforced, descended into the plains. The Duke was so apprehensive of Turin, that he abandoned the siege of Pignerol, after having blown up the fort, and marched in quest of the enemy to the plain of Marsaglia, in the neighbourhood of his capital. On the fourth day of October, the French advanced upon them from the hills, between Orbasson and Prosasque; and a desperate engagement ensued. The enemy charged the left wing of the Confederates sword in hand with incredible fury: though they were once repulsed, they renewed the attack with such impetuosity, that the Neapolitan and Milanese horse were obliged to give way, and disordered the German cavalry. These falling upon the foot, threw the whole wing into confusion. Mean while, the main body and the other wing sustained the charge without flinching, until they were exposed in flank by the defeat of the cavalry; then the whole front gave way. In vain the second line was brought up to sustain them: the horse turned their backs, and the infantry was totally routed. In a word, the Confederates were obliged to retire with precipitation, leaving their cannon, and about eight thousand men killed or wounded on the field of battle. The Duke of Schomberg having been denied the post which was his due, insisted upon

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fighting

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fighting at the head of the troops maintained by the King of Great-Britain, who were posted in the centre, and behaved with great gallantry under the eye of their commander. When the left wing was defeated, the Count de los Torres desired he would take upon him the command, and retreat with the infantry and the right wing: but he refused to act without the order of his Highness, and said, things were come to such a pass, that they must either conquer or die. He continued to animate his men with his voice and example, until he received a shot in the thigh. His valet seeing him fall, ran to his assistance, and called for quarter, but was killed by the enemy before he could be understood. The Duke being taken at the same instant, was afterwards dismissed upon his parole, and in a few days died at Turin, universally lamented on account of his great and amiable qualities. The Earl of Warwick and Holland, who accompanied him as a volunteer, shared his fate in being wounded and taken prisoner: but he soon recovered his health and liberty. This victory was as unsubstantial as that of Landen, and almost as dear in the purchase; for the Confederates made an obstinate defence, and yielded solely to superior number. The Duke of Savoy retreated to Moncalier, and threw a reinforcement into Coni, which Catinat would not venture to besiege, so severely had he been handled in the battle. He therefore contented himself with laying the country under contribution, reinforcing the garrisons of Casal, Pignerol, and Susa, and making preparations for repassing the mountains. The news of the victory no sooner reached Paris, than Louis dispatched M. de Chanlais to Turin, with proposals for detaching the Duke of Savoy from the interest of the Allies; and the Pope, who was now become a partisan of France, supported the negociation with his whole influence: but the French King had not yet touched upon the right

right string. The Duke continued deaf to all his addresses. CHAP. IV.

§ XXIII. France had been alike successful in her intrigues at the Courts of Rome and Constantinople. The Visir at the Porte had been converted into a pensionary and creature of Louis; but the war in which the Turks had been so long and unsuccessfully engaged rendered him so odious to the people, that the Grand Signor deposed him, in order to appease their clamours. The English and Dutch ambassadors at Constantinople forthwith renewed their mediation for a peace with the Emperor; but the terms they proposed were still rejected with disdain. In the mean time General Heusler, who commanded the Imperialists in Transylvania, reduced the fortresses of Jeno and Villaguswar. In the beginning of July the Duc de Croy assumed the chief command of the German army, passed the Danube and the Saave, and invested Belgrade. The siege was carried on for some time with great vigour; but, at length, abandoned at the approach of the Visir, who obliged the Imperialists to repass the Saave, and sent out parties which made incursions into Upper-Hungary. The power of France had never been so conspicuous as at this juncture, when she maintained a formidable navy at sea, and four great armies in different parts of Europe. Exclusive of the operations in Flanders, Germany, and Piedmont, the Count de Noailles invested Roses in Catalonia, about the latter end of May, while at the same time it was blocked up by the French fleet, under the command of the Count d'Etrées. In a few days the place was surrendered by capitulation, and the castle of Ampurias met with the same fate. The Spanish power was reduced to such a degree, that Noailles might have proceeded in his conquests without interruption, had not he been obliged to detach part of his army to reinforce Catinat in Piedmont. 1693.

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§ XXIV. Nothing could be more inglorious for the English than their operations by sea in the course of this summer. The King had ordered the Admirals to use all possible dispatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had suffered severely from the French privateers. They were, however, so dilatory in their proceedings, that the squadrons of the enemy sailed from their harbours before the English fleet could put to sea. About the middle of May it was assembled at St. Helen's, and took on board five regiments, intended for a descent on Brest; but this enterprise was never attempted. When the English and Dutch squadrons joined so as to form a very numerous fleet, the publick expected they would undertake some expedition of importance: but the admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any scheme of consequence. Killigrew and Delaval did not escape the suspicion of being disaffected to the service: and France was said to have maintained a secret correspondence with the malcontents in England. Louis had made surprising efforts to repair the damage which his navy had sustained. He had purchased several large vessels, and converted them into ships of war: he had laid an embargo on all the shipping of his kingdom, until his squadrons were manned; he had made a grand naval promotion to encourage the officers and seamen; and this expedient produced a wonderful spirit of activity and emulation. In the month of May his fleet sailed to the Mediterranean, in three squadrons, consisting of seventy-one capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders.

§ XXV. In the beginning of June, the English and Dutch fleets sailed down the channel. On the sixth, Sir George Rooke was detached to the Straits with a squadron of three-and-twenty ships, as convoy to the Mediterranean trade. The grand fleet

returned to Torbay, while he pursued his voyage, having under his protection about four hundred merchant ships belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. On the sixteenth, his scouts discovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent: next day their whole navy appeared, to the amount of eighty sail. Sixteen of these plied up to the English squadron, while the Vice-Admiral of the White stood off to sea, to intercept the ships under convoy. Sir George Rooke, by the advice of the Dutch Vice-Admiral Vandergoes, resolved, if possible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their absolute ruin. He forthwith sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz, while he himself stood off with an easy sail for the protection of the rest. About six in the evening ten sail of the enemy came up with two Dutch ships of war, commanded by the Captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel, who seeing no possibility of escaping, tacked in shore; and, thus drawing the French after them, helped to save the rest of the fleet. When attacked they made a most desperate defence, but at last were overpowered by numbers and taken. An English ship of war and a rich pinnace were burned; nine-and-twenty merchant vessels were taken, and about fifty destroyed by the Counts de Tourville and D'Etrées. Seven of the largest Smyrna ships fell into the hands of M. de Coetlegon, and four he sunk in the bay of Gibraltar. The value of the loss sustained on this occasion amounted to one million sterling. Mean while Rooke stood off with a fresh gale, and on the nineteenth sent home the Lark ship of war with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland, and on the third day of August arrived at Cork, with fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels. He detached

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detached Captain Fairborne to Kinsale, with all his squadron, except six ships of the line, with which, in pursuance of orders, he joined the great fleet then cruising in the chops of the channel. On the twenty-fifth day of August, they returned to St. Helen's, and the four regiments were landed. On the nineteenth day of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, set sail for Holland; and twenty-six sail, with seven fire-ships, were assigned as guard-ships during the winter.

§ XXVI. The French Admirals, instead of pursuing Rooke to Madeira, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they sailed along the coast of Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon. About this period, Sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his squadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the West Indies. In conjunction with Colonel Codrington, Governor of the Leeward Islands, he made unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of Martinique and Dominique. Then he sailed to Boston in New-England, with a view to concert an expedition against Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterwards steered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without hesitation, but the design was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus disappointed, he set sail for England, and arrived at Portsmouth in a very shattered condition, the greater part of his men having died in the course of this voyage.

§ XXVII. In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of twelve capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the coast of St. Maloes, and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days successively

cessively. Then his men landed on an island, where they burned a convent. On the nineteenth they took the advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, to send in a fire-ship of a particular contrivance, styled the Infernal, in order to burn the town: but she struck upon a rock before she arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to set her on fire, and retreat. She continued burning for some time, and at last blew up, with such an explosion as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, and broke all the glass and earthenware for three leagues around. A capstan that weighed two hundred pounds was transported into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground: the greatest part of the wall towards the sea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation: so that a small number of troops might have taken possession without resistance; but there was not a soldier on board. Nevertheless, the sailors took and demolished Quince-fort, and did considerable damage to the town of St. Maloes, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great spirit, and some success, the clamours of the people became louder and louder. They scrupled not to say, that the councils of the nation were betrayed; and their suspicions rose even to the Secretary's office. They observed, that the French were previously acquainted with all the motions of the English, and took their measures accordingly for their destruction. They collected and compared a good number of particulars, that seemed to justify their suspicion of treachery. But the misfortunes of the nation, in all probability, arose from a motley ministry, divided among themselves, who, instead of acting in concert for the publick good, employed all their influence to thwart the views and blacken the reputations of each other. The people in general exclaimed against the Marquis

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of Caermarthen, the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great credit with the Queen, and from their hatred to the Whigs, betrayed the interests of the nation.

§ XXVIII. But if the English were discontented, the French were miserable, in spite of all their victories. That kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occasioned partly from unfavourable seasons, and partly from the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithstanding all the diligence and providence of their ministry, in bringing supplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their care in regulating the price, and furnishing the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent; multitudes perished of want, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. Louis pined in the midst of his success. He saw his subjects exhausted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the Allies apart, in hopes of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he solicited the northern crowns to engage as mediators for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to King William, by which it appears, that the French King would have been contented to purchase a peace with some considerable concessions: but the terms were rejected by the King of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified; and whose subjects, though heavily laden, could still bear additional burthens.

§ XXIX. The Jacobites had been very attentive to the progress of dissatisfaction in England, which they fomented with their usual assiduity. The late declaration of King James had been couched in such imperious terms as gave offence even to some of those who favoured his interest. The Earl of Middleton, therefore, in the beginning of the year repaired to St. Germain's, and obtained another,

another, which contained the promise of a general pardon without exception, and every other concession that a British subject could demand of his Sovereign. About the latter end of May, two men, named Canning and Dormer, were apprehended for dispersing copies of this paper, tried at the Old-Bailey, found guilty of not only dispersing, but also of composing a false and seditious libel, sentenced to pay five hundred marks a-piece, to stand three times in the pillory, and find sureties for their good behaviour. But no circumstance reflected more disgrace on this reign, than the fate of Anderton, the supposed printer of some tracts against the government. He was brought to trial for high treason: he made a vigorous defence, in spite of the insults and discouragement he sustained from a partial bench. As nothing but presumptions appeared against him, the jury scrupled to bring in a verdict that would affect his life, until they were reviled and reprimanded by Judge Treby; then they found him guilty. In vain recourse was had to the Queen's mercy; he suffered death at Tyburn: and left a paper protesting solemnly against the proceedings of the Court, which he affirmed was appointed, not to try, but to convict him; and petitioning heaven to forgive his penitent jury. The severity of the government was likewise exemplified in the case of some adventurers, who, having equipped privateers to cruise upon the English, under joint commissions from the late King James and Louis XIV., happened to be taken by the English ships of war. Dr. Oldys, the King's advocate, being commanded to proceed against them as guilty of treason and piracy, refused to commence the prosecution; and gave his opinion in writing, that they were neither traitors nor pirates. He supported this opinion by arguments before the Council: these were answered by Dr. Littleton, who succeeded him in the Office from which he was dismissed; and the

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prisoners were executed as traitors. The Jacobites did not fail to retort those arts upon the government, which their adversaries had so successfully practised in the late reign. They inveighed against the vindictive spirit of the administration, and taxed it with encouraging informers and false witnesses; a charge for which there was too much foundation.

§ XXX. The friends of James in Scotland still continued to concert designs in his favour: but their correspondence was detected, and their aims defeated, by the vigilance of the ministry in that kingdom. Secretary Johnston not only kept a watchful eye over all their transactions, but by a dexterous management of Court liberality and favour, appeased the discontents of the Presbyterians so effectually, that the King ran no risque in assembling the Parliament. Some offices were bestowed upon the leaders of the Kirk party: and the Duke of Hamilton being reconciled to the government, was appointed commissioner. On the eighteenth day of April, the session was opened, and the King's letter, replete with the most cajoling expressions, being read, the Parliament proceeded to exhibit undeniable specimens of their good humour. They drew up a very affectionate answer to his Majesty's letter: they voted an addition of six new regiments to the standed forces of the kingdom; they granted a supply of above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to his Majesty: they enacted a law for levying men to serve on board the Royal Navy: they fined all absentees, whether Lords or Commons; and vacated the seats of all those Commissioners who refused to take the oath of assurance, which was equivalent to an abjuration of King James: they set on foot an inquiry about an intended invasion: they published some intercepted letters, supposed to be written to King James by Neville Payne, whom they committed to prison, and threatened with a trial for high treason; but he eluded the danger, by threatening

threatening in his turn to impeach those who had made their peace with the government: they passed an act for the comprehension of such of the episcopal clergy as should condescend to take the oaths by the tenth day of July. All that the general assembly required of them, was an offer to subscribe the confession of faith, and to acknowledge presbytery as the only government of the Scottish church: but they neither submitted to these terms, nor took the oaths within the limited time, so that they forfeited all legal right to their benefices. Nevertheless, they continued in possession, and even received private assurances of the King's protection. It was one of William's political maxims, to court his domestick enemies; but it was never attended with any good effect. This indulgence gave offence to the Presbyterians, and former distractions began to revive.

§ XXXI. The King having prevailed upon the States-General to augment their land forces and navy for the service of the ensuing campaign, embarked for England, and arrived at Kensington on the thirtieth day of October. Finding the people clamorous and discontented, the trade of the nation decayed, the affairs of state mismanaged, and the ministers recriminating upon one another, he perceived the necessity of changing hands, and resolved to take his measures accordingly. Sunderland, his chief counsellor, represented that the Tories were averse to the continuance of a war, which had been productive of nothing but damage and disgrace; whereas the Whigs were much more tractable, and would bleed freely, partly from the terrors of invasion and popery, partly from the ambition of being courted by the Crown, and partly from the prospect of advantage, in advancing money to the government on the funds established by Parliament: for that sort of traffick which obtained the appellation of the monied-interest, was altogether a whiggish institution. The King revolved these observations in his own mind;

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and, in the mean time, the Parliament met on the seventh day of November, pursuant to the last prorogation. In his speech he expressed his resentment against those who were the authors of the miscarriages at sea; represented the necessity of increasing the land forces and the navy; and demanding a suitable supply for these purposes. In order to pave the way to their condescension, he had already dismissed from his council the Earl of Nottingham, who, of all his ministers, was the most odious to the people. His place would have been immediately filled with the Earl of Shrewsbury; but that nobleman suspecting this was a change of men rather than of measures, stood aloof for some time, until he received such assurances from the King as quieted his scruples, and then he accepted the office of Secretary. The lieutenancy for the city of London, and all other commissions over England, were altered with a view to favour the Whig interest; and the individuals of that party were indulged with many places of trust and profit: but the Tories were too powerful in the House of Commons to be exasperated, and therefore a good number of them were retained in office.

§ XXXII. On the sixth day of the session, the Commons unanimously resolved to support their Majesties and their government; to inquire into miscarriages; and to consider of means for preserving the trade of the nation. The Turkey company were summoned to produce the petitions they had delivered to the Commissioners of the Admiralty for convoy: Lord Falkland, who sat at the head of that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions sent to Sir George Rooke concerning the Straits' fleet, together with a list of all the ships at that time in commission. It appeared, in the course of this inquiry, that the miscarriage of Rooke's fleet was in a great measure owing to the misconduct of the Admirals, and neglect of the Victualling-Office; but they were skreened by a majority. Mr. Harley,

ley, one of the Commissioners for taking and stating the publick accounts, delivered a report, which contained a charge of peculation against Lord Falkland. Rainsford, receiver of the rights and perquisites of the navy, confessed that he had received and paid more money than that which was charged in the accounts: and, in particular, that he had paid four thousand pounds to Lord Falkland, by his Majesty's order. This Lord had acknowledged before the Commissioners, that he had paid one half of the sum, by the King's order, to a person who was not a member of either House; and that the remainder was still in his hands. Rainsford owned he had the original letter which he received from Falkland, demanding the money; and this nobleman desiring to see it, detained the voucher; a circumstance that incensed the Commons to such a degree, that a motion was made for committing him to the Tower, and debated with great warmth, but at last overruled by the majority. Nevertheless, they agreed to make him sensible of their displeasure, and he was reprimanded in his place. The House of Lords having also inquired into the causes of the miscarriage at sea, very violent debates arose, and at length the majority resolved, that the Admirals had done well in the execution of the orders they had received. This was a triumph over the Whig Lords, who had so eagerly prosecuted the affair, and now protested against the resolution, not without great appearance of reason. The next step of the Lords, was to exculpate the Earl of Nottingham, as the blame seemed to lie with him, on the supposition that the Admirals were innocent. With a view, therefore, to transfer this blame to Trenchard, the whiggish Secretary, the Earl gave the House to understand, that he had received intelligence from Paris in the beginning of June, containing a list of the enemies' fleet, and the time of their sailing; that this was communicated to a committee of the council, and particularly

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1693. Two conferences passed on this subject between the Lords and Commons. Trenchard delivered in his defence in writing; and was in his turn skreened by the whole efforts of the ministry, in which the Whig influence now predominated. Thus an inquiry of such national consequence, which took its rise from the King's own expression of resentment against the delinquents, was stifled by the arts of the Court, because it was likely to affect one of its creatures: for, though there was no premeditated treachery in the case, the interest of the publick was certainly sacrificed to the mutual animosity of the ministers. The charge of Lord Falkland being resumed in the House of Commons, he appeared to have begged and received of the King the remaining two thousand pounds of the money which had been paid by Rainsford: he was therefore declared guilty of a high misdemeanor, and breach of trust, and committed to the Tower; from whence, however, he was in two days discharged upon his petition.

§ XXXIII. Harley, Foley, and Harcourt, presented to the House a state of the receipts and issues of the revenue, together with two reports from the Commissioners of Accounts concerning sums issued for secret services, and to members of Parliament. This was a discovery of the most scandalous practices in the mystery of corruption, equally exercised on the individuals of both parties, in occasional bounties, grants, places, pensions, equivalents, and additional salaries. The malcontents, therefore, justly observed, the House of Commons was so managed that the King could baffle any bill, quash all grievances, stifle accounts, and rectify the articles of Limerick. When the Commons took into consideration the estimates and supplies of the ensuing year, the King demanded forty thousand men for the navy, and above one hundred thousand for the purposes

poses of the land-service. Before the House considered these enormous demands, they granted four hundred thousand pounds by way of advance, to quiet the clamours of the seamen who were become mutinous and desperate for want of pay, upwards of one million being due to them for wages. Then the Commons voted the number of men required for the navy: but they were so ashamed of that for the army, that they thought it necessary to act in such a manner as should imply that they still retained some regard for their country. They called for all the treaties subsisting between the King and his allies: they examined the different proportions of the troops furnished by the respective powers: they considered the intended augmentations, and fixed the establishment of the year at fourscore and three thousand, one hundred and twenty-one men, including officers. For the maintenance of these they allotted the sum of two millions, five hundred and thirty thousand, five hundred and ninety pounds. They granted two millions for the navy, and about five hundred thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the annuity and poll-bills; so that the supplies of the year amounted to about five millions and a half, raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, by two more lives in the annuities, a further excise on beer, a new duty on salt, and a lottery.

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§ XXXIV. Though the malcontents in Parliament could not withstand this torrent of profusion, they endeavoured to distress the court-interest, by reviving the popular bills of the preceding session; such as that for regulating trials in cases of high treason, the other for the more frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments, and that concerning free and impartial proceedings in parliament. The first was neglected in the House of Lords; the second was rejected; the third was passed by the Commons, on the supposition that it would be defeated in the other

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other House. The Lords returned it with certain amendments, to which the Commons would not agree: a conference ensued; the Peers receded from their corrections, and passed the bill, to which the King, however, refused his assent. Nothing could be more unpopular and dangerous than such a step at this juncture. The Commons, in order to recover some credit with the people, determined to disapprove of his Majesty's conduct. The House formed itself into a committee, to take the state of the kingdom into consideration. They resolved that whoever advised the King to refuse the royal assent to that bill, was an enemy to their Majesties and the Kingdom. They likewise presented an address, expressing their concern that he had not given his consent to the bill, and beseeching his Majesty to hearken for the future to the advice of his Parliament, rather than to the councils of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from those of his Majesty and his people. The King thanked them for their zeal, professed a warm regard for their constitution, and assured them he would look upon all parties as enemies, who should endeavour to lessen the confidence subsisting between the sovereign and people. The members in the opposition were not at all satisfied with this general reply. A day being appointed to take it into consideration, a warm debate was maintained with equal eloquence and acrimony. At length the question being put, that an address should be made for a more explicit answer, it passed in the negative by a great majority.

§ XXXV. The city of London petitioned that a Parliamentary provision might be made for the orphans, whose fortunes they had scandalously squandered away. Such an application had been made in the preceding session, and rejected with disdain, as an imposition on the publick: but now those scruples were removed, and the House passed a bill for this purpose, consisting of many clauses, extending

to

to different charges on the city lands, aqueducts, and personal estates; imposing duties on binding apprentices, constituting freemen, as also upon wines and coals imported into London. On the twenty-third day of March these bills received the royal assent; and the King took that opportunity of recommending dispatch, as the season of the year was far advanced, and the enemy diligently employed in making preparations for an early campaign. The scheme of a national bank, like those of Amsterdam and Genoa, had been recommended to the ministry, as an excellent institution, as well for the credit and security of the government, as for the increase of trade and circulation. One project was invented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, proposing the circulation of tickets on land security; but William Paterson was author of that which was carried into execution by the interest of Michael Godfrey, and other active projectors. The scheme was founded on the notion of a transferable fund, and a circulation by bill on the credit of a large capital. Forty merchants subscribed to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds, as a fund, of ready money, to circulate one million at eight per cent. to be lent to the government; and even this fund of ready money bore the same interest. When it was properly digested in the cabinet, and a majority in Parliament secured for its reception, the undertakers for the Court introduced it into the House of Commons, and expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from such a measure. They said it would rescue the nation out of the hands of extortioners and usurers, lower interest, raise the value of land, revive and establish public credit, extend circulation, consequently improve commerce, facilitate the annual supplies, and connect the people the more closely with the government. The project was violently opposed by a strong party, who affirmed that it would become a monopoly, and engross the whole

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money

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money of the kingdom; that, as it must infallibly be subservient to government views, it might be employed to the worst purposes of arbitrary power; that, instead of assisting, it would weaken commerce, by tempting people to withdraw their money from trade, and employed it in stock-jobbing; that it would produce a swarm of brokers and jobbers to prey upon their fellow-creatures, encourage fraud and gaming, and further corrupt the morals of the nation. Notwithstanding these objections, the bill made its way through the two Houses, establishing the funds for the security and advantage of the subscribers; empowering their Majesties to incorporate them by the name of The Governor and Company of the Bank of England, under a proviso, that at any time after the first day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and five, upon a year's notice, and the repayment of the twelve hundred thousand pounds, the said corporation should cease and determine. The bill likewise contained clauses of appropriation for the service of the public. The whole subscription was filled in ten days after its being opened; and the Court of Directors completed the payment before the expiration of the time prescribed by the act, although they did not call in more than seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds of the money subscribed. All these funds proving inadequate to the estimates, the Commons brought in a bill to impose stamp duties upon all vellum, parchment, and paper, used in almost every kind of intercourse between man and man; and they crowned the oppressions of the year with another grievous tax upon carriages, under the name of a bill for licensing and regulating hackney and stage-coaches.

§ XXXVI. The Commons, in a clause of the bill for taxing several joint-stocks, provided, that in case of a default in the payment of that tax, within the time limited by the act, the charter of the com-

pany so failing should be deemed void and forfeited. The East India Company actually neglected their payment, and the publick imagined the ministry would seize this opportunity of dissolving a monopoly against which so many complaints had been made; but the Directors understood their own strength; and, instead of being broken, obtained the promise of a new charter. This was no sooner known, than the controversy between them and their adversaries was revived with such animosity, that the council thought proper to indulge both parties with a hearing. As this produced no resolution, the merchants who opposed the company petitioned, that, in the mean while, the new charter might be suspended. Addresses of the same kind were presented by a great number of Clothiers, Linen-drapers, and other dealers. To these a written answer was published by the company; the merchants printed a reply, in which they undertook to prove, that the Company had been guilty of unjust and unwarrantable actions, tending to the scandal of religion, the dishonour of the nation, the reproach of our laws, the oppression of the people, and the ruin of trade. They observed, that two private ships had exported in one year three times as many cloths as the Company had exported in three years. They offered to send more cloth and English merchandise to the Indies in one year, than the company had exported in five; to furnish the government with five hundred tons of saltpetre for less than one half of the usual price; and they represented, that the Company could neither lade the ships they petitioned for in England, nor relade them in the East Indies. In spite of all these remonstrances, the new charter passed the great seal; though the grants contained in it were limited in such a manner, that they did not amount to an exclusive privilege, and subjected the Company to such alterations, restrictions, and qualifications, as the King should direct before the twenty-

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ninth

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ninth day of September. This indulgence and other favours granted to the Company, were privately purchased of the ministry, and became productive of a loud outcry against the government. The merchants published a journal of the whole transaction, and petitioned the House of Commons that their liberty of trading to the East Indies might be confirmed by parliament. Another petition was presented by the Company, praying that their charter might receive a parliamentry sanction. Both parties employed all their address in making private application to the members. The House having examined the different charters, the book of their new subscriptions, and every particular relating to the Company, resolved that all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by act of Parliament.

§ XXXVII. But nothing engrossed the attention of the public more than a bill which was brought into the House for a general naturalization of all foreign Protestants. The advocates for this measure alleged, That great part of the lands of England lay uncultivated; That the strength of a nation consisted in the number of inhabitants; That the people were thinned by the war and foreign voyages, and required an extraordinary supply; That a great number of Protestants, persecuted in France and other countries, would gladly remove to a land of freedom, and bring along with them their wealth and manufactures; That the community had been largely repaid for the protection granted to those refugees who had already settled in the kingdom. They had introduced several new branches of manufacture, promoted industry, and lowered the price of labour; a circumstance of the utmost importance to trade, oppressed as it was with taxes, and exposed to uncommon hazard from the enemy. The opponents of the bill urged with great vehemence, That it would cheapen the birth-right of Englishmen;

That the want of culture was owing to the oppression of the times; That foreigners being admitted into the privileges of the British trade, would grow wealthy at the expence of their benefactors, and transfer the fortunes they had gained into their native country; That the reduction in the price of labour would be a national grievance, while many thousands of English manufacturers were starving for want of employment, and the price of provisions continued so high, that even those who were employed could scarce supply their families with bread: That the real design of the bill was to make such an accession to the dissenters as would render them an equal match in the body-politic for those of the Church of England; to create a greater dependence on the crown, and, in a word, to supply a foreign head with foreign members. Sir John Knight, a member of the House, in a speech upon this subject, exaggerated the bad consequences that would attend such a bill, with all the wit and virulence of satire: it was printed and dispersed through the kingdom, and raised such a flame among the people as had not appeared since the Revolution. They exclaimed, that all offices would be conferred upon Dutchmen, who would become Lord-danes, and prescribe the modes of religion and government; and they extolled Sir John Knight, as the saviour of the nation. The courtiers, incensed at the progress of this clamour, complained in the House of the speech which had been printed; and Sir John was threatened with expulsion and imprisonment. He, therefore, thought proper to disown the paper, which was burned by the hands of the common hangman. This sacrifice served only to increase the popular disturbance, which rose to such a height of violence, that the Court-party began to tremble; and the bill was dropped for the present.

Burnet. Feuquieres. Life of K. William. Tindal. State-Tracts. Ralph. Voltaire.

§ XXXVIII. Lord Coningsby and Mr. Porter had committed the most flagrant acts of oppression in Ireland.

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Ireland. These had been explained during the last session, by the gentlemen who appealed against the administration of Lord Sidney; but they were skreened by the ministry; and, therefore, the Earl of Bellamont now impeached them in the House of Commons, of which he and they were members. After an examination of the articles exhibited against them, the Commons, who were by this time at the devotion of the Court, declared, that, considering the state of affairs in Ireland, they did not think them fit grounds for an impeachment. In the course of this session, the nation sustained another misfortune in the fate of Sir Francis Wheeler, who had been appointed commander in chief of the Mediterranean squadron. He received instructions to take under his convoy the merchant ships bound to Turkey, Spain, and Italy; to cruize thirty days in a certain latitude, for the protection of the Spanish plate-fleet homeward bound; to leave part of his squadron at Cadiz, as convoy to the trade for England; to proceed with the rest to the Mediterranean; to join the Spanish fleet in his return; and to act in concert with them, until he should be joined by the fleet from Turkey and the straits, and accompany them back to England. About the latter end of October he set sail from St. Helen's, and in January arrived at Cadiz with the ships under his convoy. There leaving Rear-Admiral Hopson, he proceeded for the Mediterranean. In the bay of Gibraltar he was overtaken by a dreadful tempest, under a lee-shore, which he could not possibly weather, and where the ground was so foul that no anchor would hold. This expedient, however, was tried. A great number of ships were driven ashore, and many perished. The Admiral's ship foundered at sea, and he and all his crew were buried in the deep, except two Moors, who were miraculously preserved. Two other ships of the line, three ketches, and six merchant ships, were lost. The remains of the fleet were

were so much shattered, that instead of prosecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadiz, in order to be refitted, and sheltered from the attempts of the French squadrons, which were still at sea, under the command of Chateau-Renaud and Gabaret. On the twenty-fifth day of April the King closed the session with a speech in the usual style, and the Parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth day of September*.

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§ XXXIX. Louis of France being tired of the war, which had impoverished his country, continued to tamper with the Duke of Savoy, and, by the canal of the Pope, made some offers to the King of Spain, which were rejected. Meanwhile he resolved to stand upon the defensive during the ensuing campaign, in every part but Catalonia, where his whole naval force might co-operate with the Count de Noailles, who commanded the land army. King

* Besides the bills already mentioned, the Parliament in this session passed an act for taking and stating the public accounts—another to encourage ship-building—a third for the better disciplining the navy—the usual militia act—and an act enabling his Majesty to make grants and leases in the Dutchy of Cornwall. One was also passed for renewing a clause in an old statute, limiting the number of Justices of the peace in the principality of Wales. The Duke of Norfolk brought an action in the Court of King's Bench against Mr. Germaine for criminal conversation with his Duchess. The cause was tried, and the jury brought in their verdict for one hundred marks, and costs of suit, in favour of the Plaintiff.

Before the King embarked, he gratified a good number of his friends with promotions. Lord Charles Butler, brother to the Duke of Ormond, was created Lord Butler, of Weston in England, and Earl of Arran in Ireland. The Earl of Shrewsbury was honoured with the title of Duke. The Earl of Mulgrave, being reconciled to the Court measures, was gratified with a pension of three thousand pounds, and the title of Marquis of Normandy. Henry Herbert was ennobled by the title of Baron Herbert of Cherbury. The Earls of Bedford, Devonshire, and Clare, were promoted to the rank of Dukes. The Marquis of Caermathen was made Duke of Leeds; Lord Viscount Sidney, created Earl of Romney; and Viscount Newport, Earl of Bedford. Russel was advanced to the head of the Admiralty-board. Sir George Rooke and Sir John Houblon were appointed joint commissioners, in the room of Killegrew and Delaval. Charles Montague was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Sir William Trumbal and John Smith, Commissioners of the Treasury, in the room of Sir Edward Seymour and Mr. Hambden.

William

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William having received intelligence of the design upon Barcelona, endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, by sending Russel to sea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to sail; but before he arrived at Portsmouth, the Brest squadron had quitted that harbour. On the third day of May the Admiral sailed from St. Helen's with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, amounting to ninety ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and tenders. He detached Captain Pritchard of the Monmouth with two fire-ships, to destroy a fleet of French merchant-ships near Conquet-bay; and this service being performed, he returned to St. Helen's, where he had left Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a squadron, to take on board a body of land forces, intended for a descent upon the coast of France. These being embarked, under the command of General Ptolemache, the whole fleet sailed again on the twenty-ninth of May. The land and sea officers, in a council of war, agreed that part of the fleet designed for this expedition, should separate from the rest, and proceed to Camaret-bay, where the forces should be landed. On the fifth day of June, Lord Berkeley, who commanded this squadron, parted with the grand fleet, and on the seventh anchored between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. Next day the Marquis of Caermathen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, who served under Berkeley, as Rear-Admiral of the blue, entered Camaret-bay with two large ships and six frigates, to cover the troops in landing. The French had received intelligence of the design, and taken such precautions, under the conduct of the celebrated engineer, Vauban, that the English were exposed to a terrible fire from new-erected batteries, as well as from a strong body of troops; and though the ships cannonaded them with great vigour, the soldiers could not maintain any regularity in landing. A good number were killed in the open boats before they reached the shore;

shore; and those who landed were soon repulsed, in spite of all the endeavours of General Ptolemache, who received a wound in the thigh, which proved mortal. Seven hundred soldiers are said to have been lost on this occasion, besides those who were killed on board of the ships. The Monk ship of war was towed off with great difficulty; but a Dutch frigate of thirty guns fell into the hands of the enemy. CHAP. IV. 1694.

§ XL. After this unfortunate attempt, Lord Berkeley, with the advice of a council of war, sailed back for England, and at St. Helen's received orders from the Queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. They agreed to make some attempt upon the coast of Normandy. With this view they set sail on the fifth day of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. Thence they steered to Havre-de-Grace, which met with the same fate. They harassed the French troops, who marched after them along-shore. They alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with such consternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had not they been detained by military force. On the twenty-sixth day of July, Lord Berkeley returned to St. Helen's, where he quitted the fleet, and the command devolved upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel. This officer having received instructions to make an attempt upon Dunkirk, sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meesters, with six-and-twenty Dutch pilots. On the twelfth of September he appeared before Dunkirk; and next day sent in the Charles galley, with two bomb-ketches, and as many of the machines called Infernals. These were set on fire without effect; and the design miscarried; then Shovel steered to Calais, which having bombarded with little success, he returned to the coast of

BOOK I. England; and the bomb-ketches and machines were sent into the river Thames.

1694. § XLI. During these transactions, Admiral Russel, with the grand fleet, sailed to the Mediterranean; and being joined by Rear-Admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with Callembergh and Evertzen, he steered towards Barcelona, which was besieged by the French fleet and army. At his approach, Tourville retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon; and Noailles abandoned his enterprise. The Spanish affairs were in such a deplorable condition, that without this timely assistance the kingdom must have been undone. While he continued in the Mediterranean, the French Admiral durst not venture to appear at sea; and all his projects were disconcerted. After having asserted the honour of the British flag in those seas during the whole summer, he sailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an express order of the King, he passed the winter, during which, he took such precautions for preventing Tourville from passing the Straits, that he did not think proper to risque the passage.

§ XLII. It will now be necessary to describe the operations on the Continent. In the middle of May King William arrived in Holland, where he consulted with the States-General. On the third day of June he repaired to Bethlem-abbey near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army; and there he was met by the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn. In a few days a numerous army was assembled; and every thing seemed to promise an active campaign. On the third day of June the Dauphin assumed the command of the French forces, with which Luxembourg had taken post between Mons and Maubeuge; and passing the Sambre, encamped at Fleurus: but on the eighteenth, he removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanheim: while the Confederates lay at Roosbeck.

Roosbeck. On the eleventh of July, the Dauphin marched in four columns to Oerle upon the Jaar, where he pitched his camp. On the twenty-second, the Confederates marched to Bomale: then the Dauphin took the route to Vignamont, where he secured his army by entrenchments, as his forces were inferior in number to those of the Allies; and he had been directed by his father to avoid an engagement. In this situation both armies remained till the fifteenth day of August, when King William sent the heavy baggage to Louvain; and on the eighteenth made a motion to Sombref. This was no sooner known to the enemy, than they decamped; and having marched all night, posted themselves between Temploux and Masy, within a league and a half of the Confederates. The King of England resolved to pass the Scheld; and with this view marched, by the way of Nivelle and Soignies, to Chievres: from thence he detached the Duke of Wirtemberg, with a strong body of horse and foot, to pass the river at Oudenarde, while the Elector of Bavaria advanced with another detachment to pass it at Pont de Espieres. Notwithstanding all the expedition they could make, their purpose was anticipated by Luxembourg, who being apprised of their route, had detached four thousand horse, with each a foot soldier behind the trooper, to reinforce M. de Valette, who commanded that part of the French line. These were sustained by a choice body of men, who travelled with great expedition, without observing the formalities of a march. Mareschal de Villeroy followed the same route, with all the cavalry of the right wing, the household troops, and twenty field-pieces: and the rest of the army was brought up by the Dauphin in person. They marched with such incredible diligence, that the Elector of Bavaria could scarce believe his own eyes, when he arrived in sight of the Scheld, and saw them entrenching themselves on the other side of the river. King

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William having reconnoitred their disposition, thought it impracticable to pass at that place; and therefore marched down the river to Oudenarde, where a passage had been already effected by the Duke of Wirtemberg. Here the Confederates passed the Scheld on the twenty-seventh day of the month; and the King fixed his head-quarters at Wanneghem. His intention was to have taken possession of Courtray, and established winter-quarters for a considerable part of his army in that district; but Luxembourg having posted himself between that place and Menin, extended his lines in such a manner, that the Confederates could not attempt to force them, nor even hinder him from subsisting his army at the expence of the Castellany of Courtray, during the remainder of the campaign. This surprising march was of such importance to the French King, that he wrote with his own hand a letter of thanks to his army: and ordered that it should be read to every particular squadron and battalion.

§ XLIII. The King of England, though disappointed in his scheme upon Courtray, found means to make some advantage of his superiority in number. He drafted troops from the garrison of Liege and Maestricht; and on the third day of September reinforced his body with a large detachment from his own camp, conferring the command upon the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, with orders to undertake the siege of Huy. Next day the whole confederate forces passed the Lys, and encamped at Wouterghem. From thence the King, with part of the army, marched to Roselaer: this diversion obliged the Dauphin to make considerable detachments, for the security of Ypres and Menin on one side, and to cover Furnes and Dunkirk on the other. At this juncture, a Frenchman being seized in the very act of setting fire to one of the ammunition waggons in the allied army, confessed he had been employed for this purpose by some of the French Generals, and suffered death

death as a traitor. On the sixteenth day of the month, the Duke of Holstein-Ploen invested Huy, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that in ten days the garrison capitulated. The King ordered Dixmuyde, Deynese, Ninove, and Tirlemont, to be secured for winter-quarters to part of the army: the Dauphin returned to Versailles: William quitted the camp on the last day of September; and both armies broke up about the middle of October. CHAP. IV. 1694.

§ XLIV. The operations on the Rhine were preconcerted between King William and the Prince of Baden, who had visited London in the winter. The dispute between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony was compromised; and this young Prince dying during the negociation, the treaty was perfected by his brother and successor, who engaged to furnish twelve thousand men yearly, in consideration of a subsidy from the court of Vienna. In the beginning of June, Mareschal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, in order to give battle to the Imperialists, encamped at Hailbron. The Prince of Baden, who was not yet joined by the Saxons, Hessians, nor by the troops of Munster and Paderborn, dispatched couriers to quicken the march of these auxiliaries, and advanced to Eppingen, where he proposed to wait till they should come up; but, on the fifteenth, receiving undoubted intelligence that the enemy were in motion towards him, he advanced to meet them in order of battle. De Lorges concluded that this was a desperate effort, and immediately halted, to make the necessary preparations for an engagement. This pause enabled Prince Louis to take possession of a strong pass near Sintzheim, from which he could not easily be dislodged. Then the Mareschal proceeded to Viseloch, and ravaged the adjacent country, in hopes of drawing the Imperialists from their intrenchments. The Prince being joined by the Hessians, resolved to beat up the quarters of the enemy; and the French General being

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being apprised of his design, retreated at midnight with the utmost precipitation. Having posted himself at Ruth, he sent his heavy baggage to Philipsburg: then he moved to Gonsbergh, in the neighbourhood of Manheim, repassed the Rhine, and encamped between Spiers and Worms. The Prince of Baden being joined by the Allies, passed the river by a bridge of boats near Hagenbach, in the middle of September; and laid the country of Alsace under contribution. Considering the advanced season of the year, this was a rash undertaking; and the French General resolved to profit by his enemy's temerity. He forthwith advanced against the Imperialists, foreseeing that should they be worsted in battle, their whole army would be ruined. Prince Louis, informed of his intention, immediately passed the Rhine; and this retreat was no sooner effected, than the river swelled to such a degree, that the island in the middle, and great part of the camp he had occupied, was overflowed. Soon after this incident both armies retired into winter-quarters. The campaign in Hungary produced no effect of importance. It was opened by the new Visir, who arrived at Belgrade in the middle of August; and about the same time Caprara assembled the Imperial army in the neighbourhood of Peterwaradin. The Turks passed the Saave, in order to attack their camp, and carried on their approaches with five hundred pieces of cannon; but made very little progress. The Imperialists received reinforcements: the season wasted away; a feud arose between the Visir and the Cham of the Tartars; and the Danube being swelled by heavy rains, so as to interrupt the operations of the Turks, their General decamped in the night of the first of October. They afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt upon Titul, while the Imperial General made himself master of Giula. In the course of this summer, the Venetians, who were also at war with the Turks, reduced Cyclut, a place of importance

portance on the river Naranta, and made a conquest of the island of Scio in the Archipelago. CHAP. IV. 1694.

§ XLV. We have already observed, that the French King had determined to act vigorously in Catalonia. In the beginning of May, the Duke de Noailles advanced at the head of eight-and-twenty thousand men to the river Ter, on the opposite bank of which the Viceroy of Catalonia was encamped with sixteen thousand Spaniards. The French General passed the river in the face of this army, and attacked their entrenchments with such impetuosity, that in less than an hour they were totally defeated. Then he marched to Palamos, and undertook the siege of that place, while at the same time it was blocked up by the combined squadrons of Brest and Toulon. Though the besieged made an obstinate defence, the town was taken by storm, the houses were pillaged, and the people put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Then he invested Gironne, which in a few days capitulated. Ostalric met with the same fate, and Noailles was created Viceroy of Catalonia by the French King. In the beginning of August he distributed his forces into quarters of refreshment, along the river Terdore, resolving to undertake the siege of Barcelona, which was saved by the arrival of Admiral Russel. The war languished in Piedmont, on account of a secret negociation between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; notwithstanding the remonstrances of Rouvigny, Earl of Galway, who had succeeded the Duke of Schomberg in the command of the British forces in that country. Casal was closely blocked up by the reduction of Fort St. George, and the Vaudois gained the advantage in some skirmishes in the valley of Ragelas: but no design of importance was executed*.

§ XLVI.

* In the course of the year, M. du Casse, Governor of St. Domingo, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the island of Jamaica; and M. St. Clair,

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§ XLVI. England had continued very quiet under the Queen's administration, if we except some little commotions occasioned by the practices, or pretended practices, of the Jacobites. Prosecutions were revived against certain gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire, for having been concerned in the conspiracy formed in favour of the late King's projected invasion from Normandy. These steps were owing to the suggestions of infamous informers, whom the ministry countenanced. Colonel Parker and one Crosby were imprisoned, and bills of treason found against them: but Parker made his escape from the Tower, and was never retaken, though a reward of four hundred pounds was set upon his head. The King having settled the affairs of the Confederacy at the Hague, embarked for England on the eighth of November, and next day landed at Margate. On the twelfth he opened the session of Parliament, with a speech, in which he observed that the posture of affairs was improved both by sea and land since they last parted; in particular, that a stop was put to the progress of the French arms. He desired they would continue the act of tonnage and poundage, which would expire at Christmas; he reminded them of the debt for the transport ships employed in the direction of Ireland; and exhorted them to prepare some good bill for the encouragement of seamen. A majority in both Houses was already secured; and in all probability he bargained for their condescension, by agreeing to the bill for triennial Parliaments. This Mr. Harley brought in by order of the Lower House, immediately after their first adjournment; and it kept pace with the consideration of the supplies. The Commons having examined the estimates and accounts, voted four millions seven hundred sixty-

Clair, with four men of war, formed a design against St. John's, Newfoundland; but he was repulsed with loss, by the valour of the inhabitants.

four

four thousand seven hundred and twelve pounds for the service of the army and navy. In order to raise this sum, they continued the land tax; they renewed the subsidy of tonnage and poundage for five years, and imposed new duties on different commodities *. The triennial bill enacted, That a Parliament should be held once in three years at least: That within three years at farthest after the dissolution of the Parliament then subsisting, and so from time to time, for ever after, legal writs under the great seal should be issued, by the direction of the crown, for calling, assembling, and holding another new Parliament: That no Parliament should continue longer than three years at farthest, to be accounted from the first day of the first session: and, That the Parliament then subsisting should cease and determine on the first day of November next following, unless their Majesties should think fit to dissolve it sooner. The Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Weymouth and Aylesbury, protested against this bill, because it tended to the continuance of the present Parliament longer than, as they apprehended, was agreeable to the constitution of England.

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§ XLVII. While this bill was depending, Dr. John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, was seized with a fit of the dead palsy, in the chapel of Whitehall, and died on the 22d day of November, deeply regretted by the King and Queen, who shed tears of sorrow at his decease; and sincerely lamented by the publick, as a pattern of elegance, ingenuity, meekness, charity, and moderation. These qualities he must be allowed to have possessed, notwithstanding the invectives of his enemies, who accused him of puritanism, flattery, and ambition;

* They imposed certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, bachelors, and widows. They passed an act for laying additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, towards paying the debt due for the transport ships: and another imposing duties on glass-ware, stone, and earthen bottles, coal, and culm.

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and charged him with having conduced to a dangerous schism in the Church, by accepting the Archbishoprick during the life of the deprived Sancroft. He was succeeded in the metropolitan see by Dr. Tennison, Bishop of Lincoln, recommended by the Whig party, which now predominated in the cabinet. The Queen did not long survive her favourite prelate. In about a month after his decease; she was taken ill of the small-pox, and the symptoms proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She spent some time in exercises of devotion, and private conversation with the new Archbishop; she received the sacrament with all the bishops who were in attendance; and expired on the twenty-eighth day of December, in the thirty-third year of her age and in the sixth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the King, who for some weeks after her death could neither see company, nor attend to the business of State. Mary was in her person tall and well-proportioned, with an oval visage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment solid. She was a zealous protestant, scrupulously exact in all the duties of devotion, of an even temper, and of a calm and mild conversation. She was ruffled by no passion, and seems to have been a stranger to the emotions of natural affection: for she ascended, without compunction, the throne from which her father had been deposed, and treated her sister as an alien to her blood. In a word, Mary seems to have imbibed the cold disposition and apathy of her husband: and to have centered all her ambition in deserving the epithet of an humble and obedient wife*.

§ XLVIII.

* Her obsequies were performed with great magnificence. The body was attended from Whitehall to Westminster-abbey by all the Judges, Serjeants at Law, the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen of the city of London, and both Houses of Parliament; and the funeral sermon was preached by

§ XLVIII. The Princess Anne being informed of the Queen's dangerous indisposition, sent a lady of her bed-chamber to desire she might be admitted to her Majesty; but this request was not granted. She was thanked for her expression of concern: and given to understand that the physicians had directed that the Queen should be kept as quiet as possible. Before her death, however, she sent a forgiving message to her sister; and after her decease, the Earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the King and the Princess, who visited him at Kensington, where she was received with uncommon civility. He appointed the palace of St. James's for her residence, and presented her with the greater part of the Queen's jewels. But a mutual jealousy and disgust subsisted under these exteriors of friendship and esteem. The two Houses of Parliament waited on the King at Kensington, with consolatory addresses on the death of his consort: their example was followed by the regency of Scotland, the city and clergy of London, the dissenting ministers, and almost all the great corporations in England*.

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by Dr. Tennison, Archbishop of Canturbury: Dr. Kenn, the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, reproached him in a letter, for not having called upon her Majesty on her death-bed to repent of the share she had in the Revolution. This was answered by another pamphlet. One of the Jacobite clergy insulted the Queen's memory, by preaching on the following text: "Go now, see this cursed woman, and bury her, for she is a King's daughter." On the other hand, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London, came to a resolution to erect her statue, with that of the King, in the Royal Exchange.

* The Earls of Rochester and Nottingham are said to have started a doubt, whether the Parliament was not dissolved by the Queen's death; but this dangerous motion met with no countenance.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§ I. *Account of the Lancashire plot.* § II. *The Commons inquire into the abuses which had crept into the Army.* § III. *They expel and prosecute some of their own members for corruption in the affair of the East-India Company.* § IV. *Examination of Cooke, Acton, and others.* § V. *The Commons inpeach the Duke of Leeds.* § VI. *The Parliament is prorogued.* § VII. *Session of the Scottish Parliament.* § VIII. *They inquire into the massacre of Glencoe.* § IX. *They pass an Act for erecting a trading company to Africa and the Indies.* § X. *Proceedings in the Parliament of Ireland.* § XI. *Disposition of the Armies in Flanders.* § XII. *King William undertakes the siege of Namur.* § XIII. *Famous retreat of Prince Vaudemont. Brussels is bombarded by Villeroy.* § XIV. *Progress of the siege of Namur.* § XV. *Villeroy attempts to relieve it. The besiegers make a desperate assault.* § XVI. *The place capitulates. Boufflers is arrested by order of King William.* § XVII. *Campaign on the Rhine, and in Hungary.* § XVIII. *The Duke of Savoy takes Casal.* § XIX. *Transactions in Catalonia.* § XX. *The English Fleet bombards St. Maloes and other places on the coast of France.* § XXI. *Wilmot's expedition to the West-Indies.* § XXII. *A new Parliament.* § XXIII. *They pass a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason.* § XXIV. *Resolutions with respect to a new coinage.* § XXV. *The Commons address the King, to recal a grant he had made to the Earl of Portland.* § XXVI. *Another against the new Scottish company.* § XXVII. *Intrigues of the Jacobites.* § XXVIII. *Conspiracy against the life of William.* § XXIX. *Design of an invasion defeated.* § XXX. *The two Houses engage in an association for the defence of his Majesty.* § XXXI. *Establishment of a land-bank.*

land-bank. § XXXII. *Trial of the conspirators.* § XXXIII. *The Allies burn the magazine at Givet.* § XXXIV. *Louis the Fourteenth makes advances towards a peace with Holland.* § XXXV. *He detaches the Duke of Savoy from the confederacy.* § XXXVI. *Naval transactions.* § XXXVII. *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Scotland and Ireland.* § XXXVIII. *Zeal of the English Commons in their affection to the King.* § XXXIX. *Resolutions touching the coin, and the support of publick credit.* § XL. *Enormous impositions.* § XLI. *Sir John Fenwick is apprehended.* § XLII. *A bill of attainder being brought into the House against him, produces violent debates.* § XLIII. *His defence.* § XLIV. *The bill passes.* § XLV. *Sir John Fenwick is beheaded.* § XLVI. *The Earl of Monmouth sent to the Tower.* § XLVII. *Inquiry into miscarriages by sea.* § XLVIII. *Negociations at Ryswick.* § XLIX. *The French take Barcelona.* § L. *Fruitless expedition of Admiral Neville to the West-Indies.* § LI. *The Elector of Saxony is chosen King of Poland.* § LII. *Peter the Czar of Muscovy travels in disguise with his own Ambassadors.* § LIII. *Proceedings in the congress at Ryswick.* § LIV. *The Ambassadors of England, Spain, and Holland, sign the treaty.* § LV. *A general pacification.*

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§ I. THE kingdom now resounded with the complaints of the papists and malcontents, who taxed the ministry with subornation of perjury, in the case of the Lancashire gentlemen who had been persecuted for the conspiracy. One Lunt, an Irishman, had informed Sir John Trenchard, Secretary of State, that he had been sent from Ireland, with commissions from King James to divers gentlemen in Lancashire and Cheshire: that he had assisted in buying arms and enlisting men to serve that King in his projected invasion of England; that he had been

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been twice dispatched by those gentlemen to the court of St. Germain's, assisted many Jacobites in repairing to France, helped to conceal others that came from that kingdom; and that all those persons told him they were furnished with money by Sir John Friend to defray the expence of their expeditions. His testimoney was confirmed by other infamous emissaries, who received but too much countenance from the government. Blank warrants were issued, and filled up occasionally with such names as the informers suggested. These were delivered to Aaron Smith, solicitor to the Treasury, who, with messengers, accompanied Lunt and his associates to Lancashire, under the protection of a party of Dutch horse guards, commanded by one Captain Baker. They were empowered to break open houses, seize papers, and apprehend persons, according to their pleasure; and they committed many acts of violence and oppression. The persons, against whom these measures were taken, being apprised of the impending danger, generally retired from their own habitations. Some, however, were taken and imprisoned: a few arms were secured; and, in the house of Mr. Standish, at Standish-hall, they found the draft of a declaration to be published by King James at his landing. As this prosecution seemed calculated to revive the horror of a stale conspiracy, and the evidences were persons of abandoned characters, the friends of those who were persecuted found no great difficulty in rendering the scheme odious to the nation. They even employed the pen of Ferguson, who had been concerned in every plot that was hatched since the Rye-house conspiracy. This veteran, though appointed housekeeper to the Excise-office, thought himself poorly recompensed for the part he had acted in the Revolution, became dissatisfied, and, upon this occasion, published a letter to Sir John Trenchard on the abuse of power. It was replete with the most bitter invectives

tives against the ministry, and contained a great number of flagrant instances, in which the Court had countenanced the vilest corruption, perfidy, and oppression. This production was in every body's hand, and had such an effect upon the people, that when the prisoners were brought to trial at Manchester, the populace would have put the witnesses to death had they not been prevented by the interposition of those who were friends to the accused persons, and had already taken effectual measures for their safety. Lunt's chief associate in the mystery of information was one Taaffe, a wretch of the most profligate principles, who finding himself disappointed in his hope of reward from the ministry, was privately gained over by the agents for the prisoners. Lunt, when desired in Court to point out the persons whom he had accused, committed such a mistake as greatly invalidated his testimony; and Taaffe declared before the Bench, that the pretended plot was no other than a contrivance between himself and Lunt, in order to procure money from the government. The prisoners were immediately acquitted, and the ministry incurred a heavy load of popular odium, as the authors or abettors of knavish contrivances to ensnare the innocent. The government, with a view to evince their abhorrence of such practices, ordered the witnesses to be prosecuted for a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the gentlemen who had been accused; and at last the affair was brought into the House of Commons. The Jacobites triumphed in their victory. They even turned the battery of corruption upon the evidence for the Crown, not without making a considerable impression. But the cause was now debated before judges, who were not at all propitious to their views. The Commons having set on foot an inquiry, and examined all the papers and circumstances relating to the pretended plot, resolved, That there was sufficient ground for the prosecution

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and trials of the gentlemen at Manchester; and that there was a dangerous conspiracy against the King and government. They issued an order for taking Mr. Standish into custody; and the messenger reporting that he was not to be found, they presented an address to the King, desiring a proclamation might be published, offering a reward for apprehending his person. The Peers concurred with the Commons in their sentiments of this affair; for complaints having been laid before their House also, by the persons who thought themselves aggrieved, the question was put, Whether the government had cause to prosecute them; and carried in the affirmative; though a protest was entered against this vote by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham. Notwithstanding these decisions, the accused gentlemen prosecuted Lunt and two of his accomplices for perjury, at the Lancaster assizes; and all three were found guilty. They were immediately indicted by the Crown, for a conspiracy against the lives and liberties of the persons they had accused. The intention of the ministry, in laying this indictment, was to seize the opportunity of punishing some of the witnesses for the gentlemen, who had prevaricated in giving their testimony; but the design being discovered, the Lancashire men refused to produce their evidence against the informers: the prosecution dropped of consequence, and the prisoners were discharged.

§ II. When the Commons were employed in examining the state of the revenue, and taking measures for raising the necessary supplies, the inhabitants of Royston presented a petition, complaining, that the officers and soldiers of the regiment belonging to Colonel Hastings, which was quartered upon them, exacted subsistence-money, even on pain of military execution. The House was immediately kindled into a flame by this information. The officers, and Pauncefort, agent for the regiment

ment, were examined: then it was unanimously resolved, that such a practice was arbitrary, illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of the subject. Upon further inquiry, Pauncefort and some other agents were committed to the custody of the Serjeant, for having neglected to pay the subsistence money they had received for the officers and soldiers. He was afterwards sent to the Tower, together with Henry Guy, a member of the House, and Secretary to the Treasury, the one for giving, and the other for receiving, a bribe to obtain the King's bounty. Pauncefort's brother was likewise committed, for being concerned in the same commerce. Guy had been employed, together with Trevor, the Speaker, as the court-agent for securing a majority in the House of Commons: for that reason, he was obnoxious to the members in the opposition, who took this opportunity to brand him; and the courtiers could not with any decency skreen him from their vengeance. The House having proceeded in this inquiry, drew up an address to the King, enumerating the abuses which had crept into the army, and demanding immediate redress. He promised to consider the remonstrance, and redress the grievances of which they complained. Accordingly, he cashiered Colonel Hastings; appointed a council of officers to sit weekly and examine all complaints against any officer and soldier; and published a declaration for the maintenance of strict discipline, and the due payment of quarters. Notwithstanding these concessions the Commons prosecuted their examinations: they committed Mr. James Craggs, one of the contractors for cloathing the army, because he refused to answer upon oath to such questions as might be put to him by the Commissioners of Accounts. They brought in a bill for obliging him and Mr. Richard Harnage, the other Contractor, together with the two Paunceforts, to discover how they had disposed of the sums

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Burnet. Boyer. Oldmixon. State Tracts. Tindal. Ralph. Lives of the Admirals. Daniel. Voltaire.

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paid into their hands on account of the army; and for punishing them, in case they should persist in their refusal. At this period they received a petition against the commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches. Three of them, by means of an address to the King; were removed with disgrace, for having acted arbitrarily, corruptly, and contrary to the trust reposed in them by act of Parliament.

§ III. Those who encouraged this spirit of reformation introduced another inquiry about the orphans' bill, which was said to have passed into an act, by virtue of undue influence. A committee being appointed to inspect the Chamberlain's books, discovered that bribes had been given to Sir John Trevor, Speaker of the House, and Mr. Hungerford, chairman of the Grand Committee. The first being voted guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, abdicated the chair, and Paul Foley was appointed Speaker in his room. Then Sir John and Hungerford were expelled the House: one Nois, a solicitor for the bill, was taken into custody, because he had scandalized the Commons, in pretending he was engaged to give great sums to several members, and denying this circumstance on his examination. The Reformers in the House naturally concluded that the same arts had been practised in obtaining the new charter of the East India Company, which had been granted so much against the sense of the nation. Their books were subjected to the same committee that carried on the former inquiry, and a surprising scene of venality and corruption was soon disclosed. It appeared that the company, in the course of the preceding year, had paid near ninety thousand pounds in secret services; and that Sir Thomas Cooke, one of the Directors, and a member of the House, had been the chief manager of this infamous commerce. Cooke, refusing to answer, was committed to the Tower, and a bill of pains and penalties brought in, obliging.

ing him to discover how the sum mentioned in the report of the committee had been distributed. The bill was violently opposed in the Upper House by the Duke of Leeds, as being contrary to law and equity, and furnishing a precedent of a dangerous nature. Cooke being, agreeably to his own petition, brought to the bar of the House of Lords, declared that he was ready and willing to make a full discovery, in case he might be favoured with an indemnifying vote, to secure him against all actions and suits, except those of the East-India company, which he had never injured. The Lords complied with his request, and passed a bill for this purpose, to which the Commons added a penal clause; and the former was laid aside.

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§. IV. When the King went to the House, to give the royal assent to the money bills, he endeavoured to discourage this inquiry, by telling the Parliament that the season of the year was far advanced, and the circumstances of affairs extremely pressing: he therefore desired they would dispatch such business as they should think of most importance to the publick, as he should put an end to the session in a few days. Notwithstanding this shameful interposition, both Houses appointed a joint committee to lay open the complicated scheme of fraud and iniquity. Cooke, on his first examination, confessed, that he had delivered tallies for ten thousand pounds to Francis Tyssen, Deputy-Governor, for the special service of the Company; an equal sum to Richard Acton, for employing his interest in preventing a new settlement, and endeavouring to establish the old company; besides two thousand pounds by way of interest, and as a further gratuity; a thousand guineas to Colonel Fitzpatrick, five hundred to Charles Bates, and three hundred and ten to Mr. Molineux, a merchant, for the same purposes; and he owned that Sir Basil Firebrace had received forty thousand pounds

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on various pretences. He said, he believed that the thousand pounds paid to Tyssen had been delivered to the King by Sir Josiah Child, as a customary present which former kings had received; and that the sums paid to Acton were distributed among some members of parliament. Firebrace being examined, affirmed that he had received the whole forty thousand pounds for his own use and benefit; but that Bates had received sums of money, which he understood were offered to some persons of the first quality. Acton declared that ten thousand pounds of the sum which he had received was distributed among persons who had interest with members of parliament; and that great part of the money passed through the hands of Craggs, who was acquainted with some Colonels in the House, and northern members. Bates owned he had received the money, in consideration of using his interest with the Duke of Leeds in favour of the Company: that this nobleman knew of the gratuity: and that the sum was reckoned by his Grace's domestick, one Robart, a foreigner, who kept it in his possession until this inquiry was talked of, and then it was returned. In a word, it appeared by this man's testimony, as well as by that of Firebrace on his second examination, that the Duke of Leeds was not free from corruption, and that Sir John Trevor was a hireling prostitute.

§ V. The report of the committee produced violent altercations, and the most severe strictures upon the conduct of the Lord President. At length, the House resolved, that there was sufficient matter to impeach Thomas Duke of Leeds of high crimes and misdemeanors; and that he should be impeached thereupon. Then it was ordered, that Mr. Comptroller Warton should impeach him before the Lords in the name of the House, and of all the Commons in England. The Duke was actually in the middle of a speech for his own justification,

cation, in which he assured the House, upon his honour, that he was not guilty of the corruptions laid to his charge, when one of his friends gave him intimation of the votes which had passed in the Commons. He concluded his speech abruptly, and repairing to the Lower-House, desired he might be indulged with a hearing. He was accordingly admitted, with the compliment of a chair, and leave to be covered. After having sat a few minutes, he took off his hat, and addressed himself to the Commons in very extraordinary terms. Having thanked them for the favour of indulging him with a hearing, he said that House would not have been then sitting but for him. He protested his own innocence, with respect to the crime laid to his charge. He complained that this was the effect of a design which had been long formed against him. He expressed a deep sense of his being under the displeasure of the Parliament and nation, and demanded speedy justice. They forthwith drew up the articles of impeachment, which being exhibited at the bar of the Upper-House, he pleaded not guilty, and the Commons promised to make good their charge; but, by this time, such arts had been used, as all at once checked the violence of the prosecution. Such a number of considerable persons were involved in this mystery of corruption, that a full discovery was dreaded by both parties. The Duke sent his domestick, Robart, out of the kingdom, and his absence furnished a pretence for postponing the trial. In a word, the inquiry was dropped; but the scandal stuck fast to the Duke's character. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ VI. In the midst of these deliberations, the King went to the House on the third day of May, when he thanked the Parliament for the supplies they had granted; signified his intention of going abroad; assured them he would place the administration of affairs in persons of known care and fidelity; and desired that the members of both Houses

would

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§ VII. A session of Parliament was deemed necessary in Scotland, to provide new subsidies for the maintenance of the troops of that kindom, which had been so serviceable in the prosecution of

* In the course of this session, the Lords had enquired into the particulars of the Mediterranean expedition, and presented an address to the King, declaring, that the fleet in those seas had conduced to the honour and advantage of the nation. On the other hand, the Commons, in an address, besought his Majesty to take care that the kingdom might be put on an equal footing and proportion with the allies, in defraying the expence of the war.

The coin of the kingdom being greatly diminished and adulterated, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham expatiated upon this national evil in the House of Lords; and an act was passed, containing severer penalties against clippers; but this produced no good effect. The value of money sunk in the exchange to such a degree, that a guinea was reckoned adequate to thirty shillings; and this publick disgrace lowered the credit of the funds of the government. The nation was alarmed by the circulation of fictitious wealth, instead of gold and silver, such as Bank-bills, Exchequer-tallies, and Government securities. The malcontents took this opportunity to exclaim against the Bank, and even attempted to shake the credit of it in Parliament; but their endeavours proved abortive: the monied-interest preponderated in both Houses.

† The Regency was composed of the Archbishop of Canterbury; Somers, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Privy-Seal; the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Steward of the Household; the Duke of Shrewsbury, Secretary of State; the Earl of Dorset, Lord Chamberlain; and the Lord Godolphin, First Commissioner of the Treasury. Sir John Trenchard dying, his place of Secretary was filled with Sir William Trumbal, an eminent civilian, learned, diligent, and virtuous, who had been envoy at Paris and Constantinople. William Nassau de Zuylestein, son of the King's natural uncle, was created Baron of Enfield, Viscount Tunbridge, and Earl of Rochford. Ford, Lord Grey of Werke, was made Viscount Glendale, and Earl of Tankerville. The month of April of this year was distinguished by the death of the famous George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, who had survived in a good measure his talents and reputation.

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the war. But, as a great outcry had been raised against the government, on account of the massacre of Glencoe, and the Scots were tired of contributing towards the expence of a war from which they could derive no advantage, the ministry thought proper to cajole them with the promise of some national indulgence. In the mean time, a commission passed the great seal, for taking a precognition of the massacre, as a previous step to the trial of the persons concerned in that perfidious transaction. On the ninth of May, the session was opened by the Marquis of Tweedale, appointed commissioner, who, after the King's letter had been read, expatiated on his Majesty's care and concern for their safety and welfare; and his firm purpose to maintain the Presbyterian discipline in the church of Scotland. Then he promised, in the King's name, that if they would pass an act for establishing a colony in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where a colony might be lawfully planted, his Majesty would indulge them with such rights and privileges as he had granted in like cases to the subjects of his other dominions. Finally, he exhorted them to consider ways and means to raise the necessary supplies for maintaining their land forces, and for providing a competent number of ships of war to protect their commerce. The Parliament immediately voted an address of condolence to his Majesty on the death of the Queen; and they granted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling for the services of the ensuing year, to be raised by a general poll-tax, a land-tax, and an additional excise.

§ VIII. Their next step was to desire the commissioner would transmit their humble thanks to the King, for his care to vindicate the honour of the government and the justice of the nation, in ordering a precognition to be taken with respect to the slaughter of Glencoe. A motion was afterwards

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wards made that the commissioners should exhibit an account of their proceedings in this affair: accordingly, a report, consisting of the King's instructions, Dalrymple's letters, the depositions of witnesses, and the opinion of the committee, was laid before the Parliament. The motion is said to have been privately influenced by Secretary Johnston, for the disgrace of Dalrymple, who was his rival in power and interest. The written opinion of the commissioners, who were creatures of the Court, imported, That Macdonald of Glencoe had been perfidiously murdered; That the King's instructions contained nothing to warrant the massacre; and that Secretary Dalrymple had exceeded his orders. The Parliament concurred with this report. They resolved, that Livingston was not to blame, for having given the orders contained in his letters to Lieut. Col. Hamilton: that this last was liable to prosecution: that the King should be addressed to give orders, either for examining Major Duncanson in Flanders, touching his concern in this affair; or for sending him home to be tried in Scotland: as also, that Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsey, Ensign Lundy, and Serjeant Barber, should be sent to Scotland, and prosecuted according to law, for the parts they had acted in that execution. In consequence of these resolutions, the Parliament drew up an address to the King, in which they laid the whole blame of the massacre upon the excess in the Master of Stair's letters concerning that transaction. They begged that his Majesty would give such orders about him, as he should think fit for the vindication of his government; that the actors in that barbarous slaughter might be prosecuted by the King's advocate, according to law; and that some reparation might be made to the men of Glencoe who escaped the massacre, for the losses they had sustained in their effects upon that occasion, as their habitations had

had been plundered and burned, their lands wasted, and their cattle driven away; so that they were reduced to extreme poverty. Notwithstanding this address of the Scottish Parliament, by which the King was so solemnly exculpated, his memory is still loaded with the suspicion of having concerted, countenanced, and enforced this barbarous execution, especially as the Master of Stair escaped with impunity, and the other actors in the tragedy, far from being punished, were preferred in the service. While the commissioners were employed in the inquiry, they made such discoveries concerning the conduct of the Earl of Breadalbane, as amounted to a charge of high-treason: and he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but it seems he had dissembled with the Highlanders, by the King's permission, and now sheltered himself under the shadow of a royal pardon. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ IX. The committee of trade, in pursuance of the powers granted by the King to his commissioner, prepared an act for establishing a company trading to Africa and the Indies, empowering them to plant colonies, hold cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the consent of the natives; vesting them with an exclusive right, and an exemption for one-and-twenty years from all duties and impositions. This act was likewise confirmed by letters-patent under the great seal, directed by the Parliament, without any further warrant from the Crown. Patterson, the projector, had contrived the scheme of a settlement upon the Isthmus of Darien in such a manner as to carry on a trade in the South Sea, as well as in the Atlantick; nay, even to extend it as far as the East-Indies: a great number of London merchants, allured by the prospect of gain, were eager to engage in such a company, exempted from all manner of imposition and restriction. The Scottish Parliament likewise passed an act in favour of the episcopal clergy, decreeing,

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decreeing, That those who should enter into such engagements to the King, as were by law required, might continue in their benefices under his Majesty's protection, without being subject to the power of Presbytery. Seventy of the most noted ministers of that persuasion took the benefit of this indulgence. Another law was enacted, for raising nine thousand men early, to recruit the Scottish regiments abroad; and an act for erecting a publick bank; then the Parliament was adjourned to the seventh day of November.

§ X. Ireland began to be infected with the same factions which had broke out in England since the Revolution: Lord Capel, the Lord Deputy, governed in a very partial manner, oppressing the Irish Papists, without any regard to equity or decorum. He undertook to model a Parliament in such a manner, that they should comply with all the demands of the ministry; and he succeeded in his endeavours, by making such arbitrary changes in offices as best suited his purpose. These precautions being taken, he convoked a Parliament for the twenty-seventh day of August, when he opened the session with a speech, expatiating upon their obligations to King William, and exhorting them to make suitable returns to such a gracious Sovereign. He observed, that the revenue had fallen short of the establishment; so that both the civil and military lists were greatly in debt: that his Majesty had sent over a bill for an additional excise, and expected they would find ways and means to answer the demands of the service. They forthwith voted an address of thanks, and resolved to assist his Majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies foreign and domestick. They passed the bill for an additional excise, together with an act for taking away the writs "*De heretico comburendo*;" another annulling all attainders and acts passed in the late pretended Parliament of King

James: a third to prevent foreign education: a fourth for disarming Papists: and a fifth for settling the estates of intestates. Then they resolved, That a sum not exceeding one hundred and sixty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, should be granted to his Majesty, to be raised by a poll-bill, additional customs, and a continuation of the additional excise. Sir Charles Porter, the Chancellor, finding his importance diminished, if not entirely destroyed, by the assuming disposition and power of the Lord-Deputy, began to court popularity by espousing the cause of the Irish, against the severity of the administration; and actually formed a kind of Tory interest, which thwarted Lord Capel in all his measures. A motion was made in Parliament to impeach the Chancellor, for sowing discord and division among his Majesty's subjects; but, being indulged with a hearing by the House of Commons, he justified himself so much to their satisfaction, that he was voted clear of all imputation by a great majority. Nevertheless, they, at the end of the session, sent over an address, in which they bore testimony to the mild and just administration of their Lord-Deputy.

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§ XI. King William having taken such steps as were deemed necessary for preserving the peace of England in his absence, crossed the sea to Holland in the middle of May, fully determined to make some great effort in the Netherlands, that might aggrandise his military character, and humble the power of France, which was already on the decline. That kingdom was actually exhausted in such a manner, that the haughty Louis found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive against enemies over whom he had been used to triumph with uninterrupted success. He heard the clamours of his people, which he could not quiet; he saw his advances to peace rejected; and to crown his misfortunes, he sustained an irreparable loss in the death of

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of Francis de Montmorency, Duke of Luxembourg, to whose military talents he owed the greatest part of his glory and success. That great officer died in January at Versailles, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and Louis lamented his death the more deeply, as he had not another General left, in whose understanding he could confide. The conduct of the army in Flanders was entrusted to Mareschal Villeroy; and Boufflers commanded a separate army, though subject to the other's orders. As the French King took it for granted, that the Confederates would have a superiority of numbers in the field, and was well acquainted with the enterprising genius of their chief, he ordered a new line to be drawn between the Lys and the Scheldt; he caused a disposition to be made for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur; and laid injunctions on his General to act solely on the defensive. Meanwhile the Confederates formed two armies in the Netherlands. The first consisted of seventy battalions of infantry, and eighty-two squadrons of horse and dragoons, chiefly English and Scots, encamped at Aerseele, Caneghem, and Wouterghem, between Thieldt and Deynse, to be commanded by the King in person, assisted by the old Prince of Vaudemont. The other army, composed of sixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and thirty squadrons of horse, encamped at Zellech and Hamme, on the road from Brussels to Dendermonde, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, seconded by the Duke of Holstein-Ploen. Major-General Ellemberg was posted near Dixmuyde with twenty battalions and ten squadrons, and another body of Brandenburgh and Dutch troops, with a reinforcement from Liege, lay encamped on the Mehaigne, under the conduct of the Baron de Heyden, Lieutenant-General of Brandenburgh, and the Count de Berlo, General of the Liege cavalry. King William arrived in the camp on the fifth day of July; and remained eight days at Aerseele,

seele. Then he marched to Bekelar, while Villeroy retired behind his lines between Menin and Ypres, after having detached ten thousand men to reinforce Boufflers, who had advanced to Point d'Espieres: but he too retreating within his lines, the Elector of Bavaria passed the Scheldt, and took post at Kirkhoven: at the same time the body under Heyden advanced towards Namur. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XII. The King of England having by his motions drawn the forces of the enemy on the side of Flanders, directed the Baron de Heyden and the Earl of Athlone, who commanded forty squadrons from the camp of the Elector of Bavaria, to invest Namur; and this service was performed on the third day of July: but, as the place was not entirely surrounded, Mareschal Boufflers threw himself into it, with such a reinforcement of dragoons as augmented the garrison to the number of fifteen thousand chosen men. King William and the Elector brought up the rest of the forces, which encamped on both sides of the Sambre and the Maese; and the lines of circumvallation were begun on the sixth day of July, under the direction of the celebrated engineer, General Coehorn. This place was formerly very strong, both by situation and art; but the French since its last reduction, had made such additional works, that both the town and citadel seemed impregnable. Considering the number of the garrison, and the quality of the troops, commanded by a Mareschal of France, distinguished by his valour and conduct, the enterprise was deemed an undeniable proof of William's temerity. On the eleventh the trenches were opened, and next day the batteries began to play with incredible fury. The King receiving intelligence of a motion made by a body of French troops, with a view to intercept the convoys, detached twenty squadrons of horse and dragoons to observe the enemy.

§ XIII.

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§ XIII. Prince Vaudemont, who was left at Roselaer with fifty battalions, and the like number of squadrons, understanding that Villeroy had passed the Lys, in order to attack him, took post with his left near Grammen, his right by Aerseele and Caneghem, and began to fortify his camp, with a view to expect the enemy. Their vanguard appearing on the evening of the thirteenth at Dentreghem, he changed the disposition of his camp, and entrenched himself on both sides. Next day, however, perceiving Villeroy's design was to surround him, by means of another body of troops commanded by M. Montal, who had already passed the Thieldt for that purpose, he resolved to avoid an engagement, and effected a retreat to Ghent, which is celebrated as one of the most capital efforts of military conduct. He forthwith detached twelve battalions and twelve pieces of cannon, to secure Newport, which Villeroy had intended to invest: but that General now changed his resolution, and undertook the siege of Dixmuyde, garrisoned by eight battalions of foot, and a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Major-General Ellemberg, who, in six-and-thirty hours after the trenches were opened, surrendered himself and his soldiers prisoners of war. This scandalous example was followed by Colonel Ofarrel, who yielded up Deynse on the same shameful conditions, even before a battery was opened by the besiegers. In the sequel they were both tried for their misbehaviour: Ellemberg suffered death, and Ofarrel was broke with infamy. The Prince of Vaudemont sent a message to the French General, demanding the garrisons of those two places, according to a cartel which had been settled between the powers at war; but no regard was paid to this remonstrance. Villeroy, after several marches and countermarches, appeared before Brussels on the thirteenth day of August, and sent a letter to the Prince of Berghem, Governor of that city, importing, that the King his master

master had ordered him to bombard the town, by way of making reprisals for the damage done by the English fleet to the maritime towns of France: he likewise desired to know in what part the Electress of Bavaria resided, that he might not fire into that quarter. After this declaration, which was no more than an unmeaning compliment, he began to bombard and cannonade the place with red-hot bullets, which produced conflagrations in many different parts of the city, and frightened the Electress into a miscarriage. On the fifteenth, the French discontinued their firing, and retired to Enghein. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XIV. During these transactions, the siege of Namur was prosecuted with great ardour, under the eye of the King of England; while the garrison defended the place with equal spirit and perseverance. On the eighteenth day of July, Major-General Ramsay and Lord Cutts, at the head of five battalions, English, Scots, and Dutch, attacked the enemy's advanced works, on the right of the counterscarp. They were sustained by six English battalions, commanded by Brigadier-General Fitzpatrick; while eight foreign regiments, with nine thousand pioneers, advanced on the left, under Major-General Salisch. The assault was desperate and bloody, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted courage: but at last they were obliged to give way, and were pursued to the very gates of the town, though not before they had killed or wounded twelve hundred men of the confederate army. The King was so well pleased with the behaviour of the British troops, that during the action he laid his hand upon the shoulder of the Elector of Bavaria, and exclaimed with emotion, "See my brave Eng-"lish." On the twenty-seventh the English and Scots, under Ramsay and Hamilton, assaulted the counterscarp, where they met with prodigious opposition from the fire of the besieged. Nevertheless, being sustained by the Dutch, they made a lodge-

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ment on the foremost covered-way before the gate of St. Nicholas, as also upon part of the counterscarp. The valour of the assailants on this occasion was altogether unprecedented, and almost incredible; while, on the other hand, the courage of the besieged was worthy of praise and admiration. Several persons were killed in the trenches at the side of the King, and among these Mr. Godfrey, Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, who had come to the camp, to confer with his Majesty about remitting money for the payment of the army. On the thirtieth day of July the Elector of Bavaria attacked Vauban's line that surrounded the works of the castle. General Coehorn was present in this action, which was performed with equal valour and success. They not only broke through the line, but even took possession of Coehorn's fort, in which, however, they found it impossible to effect a lodgement. On the second day of August, Lord Cutts, with four hundred English and Dutch grenadiers, attacked the saillant-angle of a demi-bastion, and lodged himself on the second counterscarp. The breaches being now practicable, and preparations made for a general assault, Count Guiscard, the Governor, capitulated for the town on the fourth of August; and the French retired into the citadel, against which twelve batteries played upon the thirteenth. The trenches, mean while, were carried on with great expedition, notwithstanding all the efforts of the besieged, who fired without ceasing, and exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity in defending and repairing the damage they sustained. At length, the annoyance became so dreadful from the unintermitting showers of bombs and red-hot bullets, that Boufflers, after having made divers furious sallies, formed a scheme for breaking through the confederate camp with his cavalry. This, however, was prevented by the extreme vigilance of King William.

§ XV. After the bombardment of Brussels, Villeroy being reinforced with all the troops that could be drafted from garrisons, advanced towards Namur, with an army of ninety thousand men; and Prince Vaudemont being joined by the Prince of Hesse, with a strong body of forces from the Rhine, took possession of the strong camp at Masy, within five English miles of the besieging army. The King, understanding that the enemy had reached Fleurus, where they discharged ninety pieces of cannon, as a signal to inform the garrison of their approach, left the conduct of the siege to the Elector of Bavaria, and took upon himself the command of the covering army, in order to oppose Villeroy, who being further reinforced by a detachment from Germany, declared, that he would hazard a battle for the relief of Namur. But, when he viewed the posture of the Allies near Masy, he changed his resolution, and retired in the night without noise. On the thirtieth day of August, the besieged were summoned to surrender, by Count Horne, who, in a parley with the Count de Lamont, General of the French infantry, gave him to understand, that Mareschal Villeroy had retired towards the Mehaigne; so that the garrison could not expect to be relieved. No immediate answer being returned to this message, the parley was broke off, and the King resolved to proceed without delay to a general assault, which he had already planned with the Elector and his other Generals. Between one and two in the afternoon, Lord Cutts, who desired the command, though it was not in his turn of duty, rushed out of the trenches of the second line, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, to make a lodgement in the breach of Terra-nova, supported by the regiments of Coulthorp, Buchan, Hamilton, and Mackay; while Colonel Marselly, with a body of Dutch, the Bavarians, and Brandenburghers, attacked at two other places. The assailants met with such a warm reception, that the English grenadiers

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were repulsed, even after they had mounted the breach. Lord Cutts being for some time disabled by a shot in the head. Marselly was defeated, taken, and afterwards killed by a cannon-ball from the batteries of the besiegers. The Bavarians, by mistaking their way, were exposed to a terrible fire, by which their General, Count Rivera, and a great number of their officers were slain: nevertheless, they fixed themselves on the outward entrenchment, on the point of the Coehorn next to the Sambre, and maintained their ground with amazing fortitude. Lord Cutts, when his wound was dressed, returned to the scene of action, and ordered two hundred chosen men of Mackay's regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Cockle, to attack the face of the saillant-angle next to the breach, sword in hand, while the ensigns of the same regiment should advance, and plant their colours on the pallisadoes. Cockle and his detachment executed the command he had received with admirable intrepidity. They broke through the pallisadoes, drove the French from the covered-way, made a lodgement in one of the batteries, and turned the cannon against the enemy. The Bavarians being thus sustained, made their post good. The Major-generals La Cave and Schwerin lodged themselves at the same time on the covered-way; and though the general assault did not succeed in its full extent, the Confederates remained masters of a very considerable lodgement, nearly an English mile in length. Yet this was dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand men, including many officers of great rank and reputation. During the action the Elector of Bavaria signalized his courage in a very remarkable manner, riding from place to place through the hottest of the fire, giving his directions with notable presence of mind, according to the emergency of circumstances, animating the officers with praise and promise of preferment, and distributing handfuls of gold among the private soldiers.

§ XVI.

§ XVI. On the first day of September, the besieged having obtained a cessation of arms, that their dead might be buried, the Count de Guiscard appearing on the beach, desired to speak with the Elector of Bavaria. His Highness immediately mounting the breach, the French Governor offered to surrender the fort of Coehorn; but was given to understand, that if he intended to capitulate, he must treat for the whole. This reply being communicated to Boufflers, he agreed to the proposal: the cessation was prolonged, and that very evening the capitulation was finished. Villeroy, who lay encamped at Gemblours, was no sooner apprised of this event, by a triple discharge of all the artillery, and a running fire along the lines of the Confederate army, than he passed the Sambre near Charleroy, with great precipitation; and having reinforced the garrison of Dinant, retreated towards the lines in the neighbourhood of Mons. On the fifth day of September, the French garrison, which was now reduced from fifteen to five thousand five hundred men, evacuated the citadel of Namur. Boufflers, in marching out, was arrested in the name of his Britannick Majesty, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which the French King had detained, contrary to the cartel subsisting between the two nations. The Mareschal was not a little discomposed at this unexpected incident, and expostulated warmly with Mr. Dyckvelt, who assured him the King of Great Britain entertained a profound respect for his person and character. William even offered to set him at liberty, provided he would pass his word that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back, or that he himself would return in a fortnight. He said, that he could not enter into any such engagement, as he did not know his Master's reasons for detaining the garrisons in question. He was, therefore, reconveyed to Namur; from thence removed to Maestricht, and treated with great reve-

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rence and respect; till the return of an officer whom he had dispatched to Versailles with an account of his captivity. Then he engaged his word, that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back to the allied army. He was immediately released, and conducted in safety to Dinant. When he repaired to Versailles, Louis received him with very extraordinary marks of esteem and affection. He embraced him in publick with the warmest expressions of regard; declared himself perfectly well satisfied with his conduct; created him a Duke and Peer of France; and presented him with a very large sum, in acknowledgement of his signal services.

§ XVII. After the reduction of Namur, which greatly enhanced the military character of King William, he retired to his house at Loo, which was his favourite place of residence, leaving the command to the Elector of Bavaria; and about the latter end of September both armies began to separate. The French forces retired within their lines. A good number of the allied troops were distributed in different garrisons: and a strong detachment marched towards Newport, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, for the security of that place. Thus ended the campaign in the Netherlands. On the Rhine nothing of moment was attempted by either army. The Mareschal de Lorges, in the beginning of June, passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh; and posting himself at Brucksal, sent out parties to ravage the country. On the eleventh of the same month, the Prince of Baden joined the German army at Steppach, and on the eighth of July was reinforced by the troops of the other German confederates, in the neighbourhood of Wiselock. On the nineteenth, the French retired without noise, in the night, towards Manheim, where they repassed the river, without any interruption from the Imperial General: then he sent

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off a large detachment to Flanders. The same step was taken by the Prince of Baden; and each army lay inactive in their quarters for the remaining part of the campaign. The command of the Germans in Hungary was conferred upon the Elector of Saxony; but the Court of Vienna was so dilatory in their preparations, that he was not in a condition to act till the middle of August. Lord Paget had been sent ambassador from England to the Ottoman Porte, with instructions relating to a pacification: but before he could obtain an audience, the Sultan died, and was succeeded by his nephew, Mustapha, who resolved to prosecute the war in person. The warlike genius of this new Emperor afforded but an uncomfortable prospect to his people, considering that Peter, the Czar of Muscovy, had taken the opportunity of the war in Hungary, to invade the Crimea, and besiege Azoph; so that the Tartars were too much employed at home to spare the succours which the Sultan demanded. Nevertheless, Mustapha and his Visir took the field before the Imperialists could commence the operations of the campaign, passed the Danube, took Lippa and Titul by assault, stormed the camp of General Veterani, who was posted at Lugos with seven thousand men, and who lost his life in the action. The infantry were cut to pieces, after having made a desperate defence: but the horse retreated to Carousebes, under the conduct of General Trusches. The Turks, after this exploit, retired to Orsowa. Their navy, meanwhile, surprised the Venetian fleet at Scio, where several ships of the Republick were destroyed, and they recovered that island, which the Venetians thought proper to abandon; but, in order to balance this misfortune, these last obtained a complete victory over the Bashaw of Negropont in the Morea.

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§ XVIII. The French King still maintained a secret negociation with the Duke of Savoy, whose conduct

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conduct had been for some time mysterious and equivocal. Contrary to the opinion of his allies, he undertook the siege of Casal, which was counted one of the strongest fortifications in Europe, defended by a numerous garrison, abundantly supplied with ammunition and provision. The siege was begun about the middle of May; and the place was surrendered by capitulation in about fourteen days, to the astonishment of the Confederates, who did not know that this was a sacrifice by which the French Court obtained the Duke's forbearance during the remaining part of the campaign. The capitulation imported, that the place should be restored to the Duke of Mantua, who was the rightful proprietor: That the fortifications should be demolished at the expence of the Allies: That the garrison should remain in the fort till that work should be completed: and hostages wese exchanged for the performance of these conditions. The Duke understood the art of procrastination so well, that September was far advanced before the place was wholly dismantled; and then he was seized with an ague, which obliged him to quit the army.

§ XIX. In Catalonia the French could hardly maintain the footing they had gained. Admiral Russel, who wintered at Cadiz, was created Admiral, Chief-commander, and Captain-general of all his Majesty's ships employed, or to be employed in the narrow Seas, and in the Mediterranean. He was reinforced by four thousand five hundred soldiers, under the command of Brigadier-General Stewart; and seven thousand men, Imperialists as well as Spaniards, were drafted from Italy for the defence of Catalonia. These forces were transported to Barcelona, under the convoy of Admiral Nevil, detached by Russel for that purpose. The affairs of Catalonia had already changed their aspect. Several French parties had been defeated. The Spaniards had blocked up Ostalric and Castel-Follit; Noailles

Noailles had been recalled, and the command devolved upon the Duke de Vendome, who no sooner understood that the forces from Italy were landed, than he dismantled Ostalric and Castel-Follit, and retired to Palamos. The Viceroy of Catalonia, and the English Admiral having resolved to give battle to the enemy, and reduce Palamos, the English troops were landed on the ninth day of August, and the allied army advanced to Palamos. The French appeared in order of battle; but the Viceroy declined an engagement. Far from attacking the enemy, he withdrew his forces, and the town was bombarded by the Admiral. The miscarriage of this expedition was in a great measure owing to a misunderstanding between Russel and the Court of Spain. The Admiral complained that his Catholick Majesty had made no preparations for the campaign; that he had neglected to fulfil his engagements with respect to the Spanish squadron, which ought to have joined the fleets of England and Holland: that he had taken no care to provide tents and provisions for the British forces. On the twenty-seventh day of August he sailed for the coast of Provence, where the fleet was endangered by a terrible tempest: then he steered down the Straits, and towards the latter end of September arrived in the bay of Cadiz. There he left a number of ships under the command of Sir David Mitchel, until he should be joined by Sir George Rooke, who was expected from England, and returned home with the rest of the combined squadrons.

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§ XX. While Admiral Russel asserted the British dominion in the Mediterranean, the French coasts were again insulted in the Channel by a separate fleet, under the command of Lord Berkley of Stratton, assisted by the Dutch Admiral Allemonde. On the fourth day of July they anchored before St. Maloes, which they bombarded from nine

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nine ketches covered by some frigates, which sustained more damage than was done to the enemy. On the sixth, Granville underwent the same fate, and then the fleet returned to Portsmouth. The bomb vessels being refitted, the fleet sailed round to the Downs, where four hundred soldiers were embarked for an attempt upon Dunkirk, under the direction of Meesters the famous Dutch engineer, who had prepared his Infernals, and other machines for the service. On the first day of August the experiment was tried without success. The bombs did some execution; but two smoak ships miscarried. The French had secured the Risbank and wooden forts with piles, bombs, chains, and floating batteries, in such a manner, that the machine-vessels could not approach near enough to produce any effect. Besides, the councils of the assailants were distracted by violent animosities. The English officers hated Meesters, because he was a Dutchman, and had acquired some credit with the King; he, on the other hand, treated them with disrespect. He retired with his machines in the night, and refused to co-operate with Lord Berkley in his design upon Calais, which was now put in execution. On the sixteenth he brought his batteries to bear upon this place, and set fire to it in different quarters; but the enemy had taken such precautions as rendered his scheme abortive.

§ XXI. A squadron had been sent to the West-Indies under the joint command of Captain Robert Wilmot and Colonel Lilingston, with twelve hundred land forces. They had instructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hispaniola, against the French settlements on that island, and to destroy their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. They were accordingly joined by seventeen hundred Spaniards raised by the President of St. Domingo; but instead of proceeding against Petit-

Petit-Guavas, according to the directions they had received, Wilmot took possession of Port François, and plundered the country for his own private advantage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lilingston, who protested against his conduct. In a word, the sea and land officers lived in a state of perpetual dissension; and both became extremely disagreeable to the Spaniards, who soon renounced all connection with them and their designs. In the beginning of September the Commodore set sail for England, and lost one of his ships in the gulf of Florida. He himself died in his passage; and the greater part of the men being swept off by an epidemical distemper, the squadron returned to Britain in a most miserable condition. Notwithstanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain such a number of different squadrons for the protection of commerce, as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade suffered severely from the French privateers, which swarmed in both channels, and made prize of many rich vessels. The Marquis of Caermarthen, being stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, mistook a fleet of merchant ships for the Brest fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford-Haven. In consequence of this retreat, the privateers took a good number of ships from Barbadoes, and five from the East Indies, valued at a million sterling. The merchants renewed their clamour against the Commissioners of the Admiralty, who produced their orders and instructions in their own defence. The Marquis of Caermarthen had been guilty of flagrant misconduct on this occasion; but the chief source of those national calamities was the circumstantial intelligence transmitted to France from time to time, by the malcontents of England; for they were actuated by a scandalous principle, which they still retain, namely, that of rejoicing in the distress of the country.

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§ XXII.

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§ XXII. King William, after having conferred with the States of Holland, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, who met him at the Hague, embarked for England on the nineteenth day of October, and arrived in safety at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On the same day he summoned a council at Kensington, in which it was determined to convoke a new Parliament. While the nation was in good humour, it was supposed that they would return such members only as were well affected to the government; whereas the present Parliament might proceed in its enquiries into corruption and other grievances, and be the less influenced by the Crown, as their dependence was of such short duration. The Parliament was, therefore, dissolved by proclamation, and a new one summoned to meet at Westminster on the twenty-second day of November. While the whole nation was occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his chief confidents, laid his own disposition under restraint, in another effort to acquire popularity. He honoured the diversions of Newmarket with his presence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the University of Cambridge. Then he visited the Earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montagu, at their different houses in the country; and proceeded with a splendid retinue to Lincoln, from whence he repaired to Welbeck, a seat belonging to the Duke of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where he was attended by Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, and his clergy. He lodged one night with Lord Brooke, at Warwick castle, dined with the Duke of Shrewsbury at Eyefort, and, by the way of Woodstock, made a solemn entry into Oxford, having been met at some distance from the city by the Duke of Ormond, as Chancellor of the University, the Vice-Chancellor,

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the doctors in their habits, and the magistrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin speech: he received from the Chancellor on his knees the usual presents of a large English Bible, and book of Common-Prayer, the cuts of the University, and a pair of gold-fringed gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared; but an anonymous letter being found in the street, importing that there was a design to poison his Majesty, William refused to eat or drink in Oxford, and retired immediately to Windsor. Notwithstanding this abrupt departure, which did not savour much of magnanimity, the University chose Sir William Trumbal, Secretary of State, as one of their representatives in Parliament. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XXIII. The Whig interest generally prevailed in the elections, though many even of that party were malcontents; and when the Parliament met, Foley was again chosen Speaker of the Commons. The King, in his first speech, extolled the valour of the English forces; expressed his concern at being obliged to demand such large supplies from his people; observed that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil list was in a precarious condition; recommended to their compassion the miserable situation of the French Protestants; took notice of the bad state of the coin; desired they would form a good bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen; and contrive laws for the advancement of commerce. He mentioned the great preparations which the French were making for taking the field early: intreated them to use dispatch; expressed his satisfaction at the choice which his people had made of their representatives in the House of Commons; and exhorted them to proceed with temper and unanimity. Though the two Houses presented addresses of congratulation to the King upon his late success, and promised to assist him

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him in prosecuting the war with vigour, the nation loudly exclaimed against the intolerable burthens and losses to which they were subjected, by a foreign scheme of politicks, which, like an unfathomable abyss, swallowed up the wealth and blood of the kingdom. All the King's endeavours to cover the disgusting side of his character had proved ineffectual: he was still dry, reserved, and forbidding: and the malcontents inveighed bitterly against his behaviour to the Princess Anne of Denmark. When the news of Namur being reduced arrived in England, this lady congratulated him upon his success in a dutiful letter, to which he would not deign to send a reply, either by writing or message; nor had she or her husband been favoured with the slightest mark of regard since his return to England. The members in the Lower House, who had adopted opposing maxims, either from principle or resentment, resolved that the Crown should purchase the supplies with some concession in favour of the people. They therefore brought in the so long contested bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason and misprision of treason; and, considering the critical juncture of affairs, the courtiers were afraid of obstructing such a popular measure. The Lords inserted a clause, enacting, that the peer should be tried by the whole peerage; and the Commons, at once, assented to this amendment. The bill provided, that persons indicted for high-treason, or misprision of treason, should be furnished with a copy of the indictment five days before the trial; and indulged with council to plead in their defence; that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witnesses swearing to overt-acts; that in two or more distinct treasons of divers kinds, alledged in one bill of indictment, one witness to one, and another witness to another, should not be deemed two witnesses: that no person should be prosecuted for any such crime, unless the indictment

indictment be found within three years after the offence committed, except in case of a design to attempt to assassinate or poison the King, where this limitation should not take place: that persons indicted for treason, or misprision of treason, should be supplied with copies of the pannel of the jurors, two days at least before the trial, and have process to compel their witnesses to appear: that no evidence should be admitted of any overt-act not expressly laid in the indictment: that this act should not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in Parliament; nor to any indictment, for counterfeiting his Majesty's coin, his great seal, privy seal, sign manual, or signet. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XXIV. This important affair being discussed, the Commons proceeded to examine the accounts and estimates, and voted above five millions for the service of the ensuing year. The state of the coin was by this time become such a national grievance as could not escape the attention of Parliament. The Lords prepared an address to the throne, for a proclamation to put a stop to the currency of diminished coin; and to this they desired the concurrence of the Commons. The Lower House, however, determined to take this affair under their own inspection. They appointed a committee of the whole House, to deliberate on the state of the nation with respect to the currency. Great opposition was made to a recoinage, which was a measure strenuously recommended and supported by Mr. Montague, who acted on this occasion by the advice of the great mathematician Sir Isaac Newton. The enemies of this expedient argued, that should the silver coin be called in, it would be impossible to maintain the war abroad, or prosecute foreign trade, in as much as the merchant could not pay his bills of exchange, nor the soldier receive his subsistence: that a stop would be put to all mutual payment; and this would produce uni-

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versal confusion and despair. Such a reformation could not be effected without some danger and difficulty; but it was become absolutely necessary, as the evil daily increased, and in a little time must have terminated in national anarchy: After long and vehement debates, the majority resolved to proceed with all possible expedition to a new coinage. Another question arose, Whether the new coin in its different denominations should retain the original weight and purity of the old; or the established standard be raised in value. The famous Locke engaged in this dispute against Mr. Lowndes, who proposed that the standard should be raised: the arguments of Mr. Locke were so convincing, that the committee resolved the established standard should be preserved with respect to weight and fineness. They likewise resolved, that the loss accruing to the revenue from clipped money, should be borne by the publick. In order to prevent a total stagnation, they further resolved, that after an appointed day, no clipped money should pass in payment, except to the collectors of the revenue and taxes, or upon loans or payment into the Exchequer: that, after another day to be appointed no clipped money of any sort should pass in any payment whatsoever: and that a third day should be fixed for all persons to bring in their clipped money to be re-coined, after which they should have no allowance upon what they might offer. They addressed they King to issue a proclamation agreeably to these resolutions; and on the nineteenth day of December, it was published accordingly. Such were the fears of the people, augmented and inflamed by the enemies of the government, that all payment immediately ceased, and a face of distraction appeared through the whole community. The adversaries of the bill seized this opportunity to aggravate the apprehensions of the publick. They inveighed against the ministry,

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as the authors of this national grievance; they levelled their satire particularly at Montague; and it required uncommon fortitude and address to avert the most dangerous consequences of popular discontent. The House of Commons agreed to the following resolutions, that twelve hundred thousand pounds should be raised by a duty on glass windows, to make up the loss on the clipped money: that the recompence for supplying the deficiency of clipped money should extend to all silver coin, though of a coarser alloy than the standard: that the collectors and receivers of his Majesty's aids and revenues should be enjoined to receive all such monies: that a reward of five per cent. should be given to all such persons as should bring in either milled or broad unclipped money, to be applied in exchange of the clipped money throughout the kingdom: that a reward of threepence per ounce should be given to all persons who should bring in wrought plate to the mint to be coined: That persons might pay in their whole next year's land-tax in clipped money, at one convenient time to be appointed for that purpose: that Commissioners should be appointed in every county, to pay and distribute the milled and broad unclipped money, and the new coined money in lieu of that which was diminished. A bill being prepared agreeably to these determinations, was sent up to the House of Lords, who made some amendments, which the Commons rejected; but, in order to avoid cavils and conferences, they dropped the bill, and brought in another without the clauses which the Lords had inserted. They were again proposed in the Upper House, and over-ruled by the majority; and, on the twenty-first day of January, the bill received the royal assent, as did another bill, enlarging the time for purchasing annuities, and continuing the duties on low wines. At the same time, the King passed the bill of trials

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for high-treason, and an act to prevent mercenary elections. Divers merchants and traders petitioned the House of Commons, that the losses in their trade and payments, occasioned by the rise of guineas, might be taken into consideration. A bill was immediately brought in for taking off the obligation and encouragement for coining guineas for a certain time: and then the Commons proceeded to lower the value of this coin: a task in which they met with great opposition from some members, who alledged that it would foment the popular disturbances. At length, however, the majority agreed, that a guinea should be lowered from thirty to eight-and-twenty shillings, and afterwards to six-and-twenty: at length a clause was inserted in the bill for encouraging people to bring plate to the mint, settling the price of a guinea at two-and-twenty shillings, and it naturally sunk to its original value of twenty shillings and sixpence. Many persons, however, supposing that the price of gold would be raised the next session, hoarded up their guineas; and, upon the same supposition, encouraged by the malcontents, the new coined silver money was reserved, to the great detriment of commerce. The King ordered mints to be erected in York, Bristol, Exeter, and Chester, for the purpose of the re-coinage, which was executed with unexpected success; so that in less than a year the currency of England, which had been the worst, became the best coin in Europe.

§ XXV. At this period the attention of the Commons was diverted to an object of a more private nature. The Earl of Portland, who enjoyed the greatest share of the King's favour, had obtained a grant of some lordships in Derbyshire. While the warrant was depending, the gentlemen of that county resolved to oppose it with all their power. In consequence of a petition, they were indulged with a hearing by the Lords of the Treasury. Sir

William Williams, in the name of the rest, alleged, that the Lordships in question were the ancient demesnes of the Prince of Wales, absolutely unalienable: that the revenues of those Lordships supported the Government of Wales, in paying the judges' and other salaries: that the grant was of too large an extent for any foreign subject; and that the people of the county were too great to be subject to any foreigner. Sundry other substantial reasons were used against the grant, which notwithstanding all their remonstrances, would have passed through the offices, had not the Welsh gentlemen addressed themselves by petition to the House of Commons. Upon this occasion, Mr. Price, a member of the House, harangued with great severity against the Dutch in general, and did not even abstain from sarcasms upon the King's person, title, and government. The objections started by the petitioners being duly considered, were found so reasonable, that the Commons presented an address to the King, representing, that those manours had been usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and settled on the Princes of Wales for their support: that many persons in those parts held their estates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, rents, royal payments, and services to the crown and Princes of Wales; and enjoyed great privileges and advantages under such tenure. They, therefore, besought his Majesty to recal the grant, which was in diminution of the honour and interest of the crown; and prayed, that the said manours and lands might not be alienated without the consent of Parliament. This address met with a cold reception from the King, who promised to recal the grant which had given such offence to the Commons: and said he would find some other way of showing his favour to the Earl of Portland.

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§ XXVI. The people in general entertained a national aversion to this nobleman: the malcontents

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inculcated a notion that he made use of his interest and intelligence to injure the trade of England, that the commerce of his own country might flourish without competition. To his suggestions they imputed the act and patent in favour of the Scottish company, which was supposed to have been thrown in as a bone of contention between the two kingdoms. The subject was first started in the House of Lords, who invited the Commons to a conference; a committee was appointed to examine into the particulars of the act for erecting the Scottish company; and the two Houses presented a joint address against it, as a scheme that would prejudice all the subjects concerned in the wealth and trade of the English nation. They represented, that, in consequence of the exemption from taxes, and other advantages granted to the Scottish company, that kingdom would become a free port for all East and West India commodities: that the Scots would be enabled to supply all Europe at a cheaper rate than the English could afford to sell their merchandise for; therefore, England would lose the benefit of its foreign trade: besides they observed that the Scots would smuggle their commodities into England, to the great detriment of his Majesty and his customs. To this remonstrance the King replied, that he had been ill served in Scotland; but that he hoped some remedies would be found to prevent the inconveniences of which they were apprehensive. In all probability he had been imposed upon by the ministry of that kingdom; for, in a little time, he discarded the Marquis of Tweedale, and dismissed both the Scottish Secretaries of State, in lieu of whom he appointed Lord Murray, son to the Marquis of Athol. Notwithstanding the King's answer, the committee proceeded on the inquiry, and in consequence of their report, confirming a petition from the East India Company, the House resolved, that the Directors of the Scottish company were

were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, in administering and taking an oath *de fideli* in this kingdom; and that they should be impeached for the same. Meanwhile, Roderick Mackenzie, from whom they had received their chief information, began to retract his evidence, and was ordered into custody; but he made his escape, and could not be retaken, although the King, at their request, issued a proclamation for that purpose. The Scots were extremely incensed against the King, when they understood he had disowned their company, from which they had promised themselves such wealth and advantage. The Settlement of Darien was already planned, and afterwards put in execution, though it miscarried in the sequel, and had like to have produced abundance of mischief.

§ XXVII. The complaints of the English merchants who had suffered by the war were so loud at this juncture, that the Commons resolved to take their case into consideration. The House resolved itself into a committee to consider the state of the nation with regard to commerce, and having duly weighed all circumstances, agreed to the following resolutions: that a council of Trade should be established by act of Parliament, with powers to take measures for the more effectual preservation of commerce: that the commissioners should be nominated by Parliament, but none of them have seats in the House: that they should take an oath, acknowledging the title of King William as rightful and lawful; and abjuring the pretensions of James, or any other person. The King considered these resolutions as an open attack upon his prerogative, and signified his displeasure to the Earl of Sunderland, who patronised this measure: but it was so popular in the House, that in all probability it would have been put in execution, had not the attention of the Commons been diverted from it at this period by the detection of a new conspiracy. The friends of

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King James had, upon the death of Queen Mary, renewed their practices for effecting a restoration of that monarch; on the supposition that the interest of William was considerably weakened by the decease of his consort. Certain individuals, whose zeal for James overshot their discretion, formed a design to seize the person of King William, and convey him to France, or put him to death in case of resistance. They had sent emissaries to the Court of St. Germain's, to demand a commission for this purpose, which was refused. The Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, son to the Marquis of Powis, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Captain Charnock, Captain Porter, and one Mr. Goodman, were the first contrivers of this project. Charnock was detached with a proposal to James, that he should procure a body of horse and foot from France, to make a descent in England, and they would engage not only to join him at his landing, but even to replace him on the throne of England. These offers being declined by James, on pretence that the French King could not spare such a number of troops at that juncture, the Earl of Aylesbury went over in person, and was admitted to a conference with Louis, in which the scheme of an invasion was actually concerted. In the beginning of February, the Duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, where he conferred with the conspirators, assured them that King James was ready to make a descent with a considerable number of French forces, distributed commissions, and gave directions for providing men, arms, and horses, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition. The troops were drawn down to the sea-side: a great number of transports were assembled at Dunkirk: Monsieur Gabaret had advanced as far as Calais with a squadron of ships, which, when joined by that of Du Bart at Dunkirk, was judged a sufficient convoy; and

and James had come as far as Calais in his way to embark. Mean while, the Jacobites in England were assiduously employed in making preparations for a revolt. Sir John Friend had very near completed a regiment of horse. Considerable progress was made in levying another by Sir William Perkins. Sir John Fenwick had inlisted four troops. Colonel Tempest had undertaken for one regiment of dragoons: Colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another: Mr. Curzon was commissioned for a third; and the malcontents intended to raise a fourth in Suffolk, where their interest chiefly prevailed. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XXVIII. While one part of the Jacobites proceeded against William in the usual way of exciting an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, had formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in the army of James, a man of undaunted courage, a furious bigot in the religion of Rome, yet close, circumspect, and determined, was landed with other officers, in Romney-marsh, by one Captain Gill, about the beginning of January, and is said to have undertaken the task of seizing or assassinating King William. He imparted his design to Harrison, alias Johnston, a priest, Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved; and he pretended to have a particular commission for this service. After various consultations, they resolved to attack the King on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their intended ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. As it would be necessary to charge and disperse the guards that attended the coach, they agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each conspirator began to engage proper persons for the enterprise. When their complement was full, they determined to

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to execute their purpose on the fifteenth day of February. They concerted the manner in which they should meet in small parties without suspicion, and waited with impatience for the hour of action. In this interval, some of the underling actors, seized with horror at the reflection of what they had undertaken, or captivated with the prospect of reward, resolved to prevent the execution of the design by a timely discovery. On the eleventh day of February, one Fisher informed the Earl of Portland of the scheme, and named some of the conspirators; but his account was imperfect. On the thirteenth, however, he returned with a circumstantial detail of all the particulars. Next day, the Earl was accosted by one Pendergrass, an Irish officer, who told his Lordship he had just come from Hampshire, at the request of a particular friend, and understood that he had been called up to town with a view of engaging him in a design to assassinate King William. He said, he had promised to embark in the undertaking, though he detested it in his own mind, and took this first opportunity of revealing the secret, which was of such consequence to his Majesty's life. He owned himself a Roman catholick, but declared, that he did not think any religion could justify such a treacherous purpose. At the same time he observed, that as he lay under obligations to some of the conspirators, his honour and gratitude would not permit him to accuse them by name; and that he would upon no consideration appear as an evidence. The King had been so much used to fictitious plots, and false discoveries, that he paid little regard to the information, until they were confirmed by the testimony of another conspirator called La Rue, a Frenchman, who communicated the same particulars to Brigadier Levison, without knowing the least circumstance of the other discoveries. Then the King believed there was something real in the conspiracy; and Pendergrass and La

La Rue were severally examined in his presence. He thanked Pendergrass in particular for this instance of his probity; but, observed that it must prove ineffectual, unless he would discover the names of the conspirators; for, without knowing who they were, he should not be able to secure his life against their attempts. At length Pendergrass was prevailed upon to give a list of those he knew, yet not before the King had solemnly promised that he should not be used as an evidence against them, except with his own consent. As the King did not go to Richmond on the day appointed, the conspirators postponed the execution of their design till the Saturday following. They accordingly met at different houses on the Friday, when every man received his instructions. There they agreed, that after the perpetration of the parricide, they should ride in a body as far as Hammersmith, and then dispersing, enter London by different avenues. But, on the morning, when they understood that the guards were returned to their quarters, and the King's coaches sent back to the Mews, they were seized with a sudden damp, on the suspicion that their plot was discovered. Sir George Barclay withdrew himself, and every one began to think of providing for his own safety. Next night, however, a great number of them were apprehended, and then the whole discovery was communicated to the Privy Council. A proclamation was issued against those that absconded; and great diligence was used to find Sir George Barclay, who was supposed to have a particular commission from James for assassinating the Prince of Orange; but he made good his retreat, and it was never proved that any such commission had been granted.

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§ XXIX. This design and the projected invasion proved equally abortive. James had scarce reached Calais, when the Duke of Wirtemberg dispatched his aid-de-camp from Flanders to King William, with

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with an account of the purposed descent. Expresses with the same tidings arrived from the Elector of Bavaria and the Prince de Vaudemont. Two considerable squadrons being ready for sea, Admiral Russel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast with about fifty sail of the line. The enemy were confounded at his appearance, and hauled in their vessels under the shore, in such shallow water that he could not follow and destroy them: but he absolutely ruined their design, by cooping them up in their harbours. King James, after having tarried some weeks at Calais, returned to St. Germain's. The forces were sent back to the garrisons from which they had been drafted: the people of France exclaimed that the malignant star which ruled the destiny of James had blasted this, and every other project formed for his restoration. By means of the reward offered in the proclamation, the greater part of the conspirators were betrayed or taken. George Harris, who had been sent from France, with orders to obey Sir George Barclay, surrendered himself to Sir William Trumball, and confessed the scheme of assassination in which he had been engaged. Porter and Pendergrass were apprehended together. This last insisted upon the King's promise, that he should not be compelled to give evidence; but, when Porter owned himself guilty, the other observed, he was no longer bound to be silent, as his friend had made a confession; and they were both admitted as evidences for the crown.

§ XXX. After their examination, the King, in a speech to both Houses, communicated the nature of the conspiracy against his life, as well as the advices he had received touching the invasion: he explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double design, and professed his confidence in their readiness and zeal to concur with him in every thing that should appear necessary for their common safety. That same evening the two Houses waited upon him at Kensington,

Kensington, in a body, with an affectionate address, by which they expressed their abhorrence of the villainous and barbarous design which had been formed against his sacred person, of which they besought him to take more than ordinary care. They assured him they would to the utmost defend his life, and support his government against the late King James, and all other enemies; and declared, that, in case his Majesty should come to a violent death, they would revenge it upon his adversaries and their adherents. He was extremely well pleased with this warm address, and assured them, in his turn, he would take all opportunities of recommending himself to the continuance of their loyalty and affection. The Commons forthwith empowered him, by bill, to secure all persons suspected of conspiring against his person and government. They brought in another, providing, That, in case of his Majesty's death, the Parliament then in being should continue until dissolved by the next heir in succession to the crown, established by act of Parliament: That if his Majesty should chance to die between two Parliaments, that which had been last dissolved should immediately reassemble, and sit for the dispatch of national affairs. They voted an address, to desire, that his Majesty would banish by Proclamation, all Papists to the distance of ten miles from the cities of London and Westminster; and give instructions to the Judges going on the circuits, to put the laws in execution against Roman Catholicks and Nonjurors. They drew up an association, binding themselves to assist each other in support of the King and his government, and to revenge any violence that should be committed on his person. This was signed by all the members then present: but, as some had absented themselves on frivolous pretences, the House ordered, That in sixteen days the absentees should either subscribe or declare their refusal. Several members neglecting to comply with this injunction within

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within the limited time, the Speaker was ordered to write to those who were in the country, and demand a peremptory answer; and the Clerk of the House attended such as pretended to be ill in town. The absentees, finding themselves pressed in this manner, thought proper to sail with the stream, and sign the association, which was presented to the King by the Commons in a body, with a request that it might be lodged among the records in the Tower, as a perpetual memorial of their loyalty and affection. The King received them with uncommon complacency: declared, that he heartily entered into the same association; that he should be always ready to venture his life with his good subjects, against all who should endeavour to subvert the religion, laws, and liberties of England; and he promised that this, and all other associations, should be lodged among the records of the Tower of London. Next day the Commons resolved, That whoever should affirm an association was illegal should be deemed a promoter of the designs of the late King James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. The Lords followed the example of the Lower House in drawing up an association; but the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Edward Seymour, and Mr. Finch, objected to the words Rightful and Lawful, as applied to his Majesty. They said, as the crown and its prerogatives were vested in him, they would yield obedience, though they could not acknowledge him as their rightful and lawful King. Nothing could be more absurd than this distinction, started by men who had actually constituted part of the administration; unless they supposed that the right of King William expired with Queen Mary. The Earl of Rochester proposed an expedient in favour of such tender consciences, by altering the words that gave offence; and this was adopted accordingly. Fifteen of the Peers, and ninety-two Commoners, signed the association

ciation with reluctance. It was, however, subscribed by all sorts of people in different parts of the kingdom; and the Bishops drew up a form for the Clergy, which was signed by a great majority. The Commons brought in a bill, declaring all men incapable of publick trust, or of sitting in Parliament, who would not engage in this association. At the same time, the Council issued an order for renewing all the Commissions in England, that those who had not signed it voluntarily should be dismissed from the service as disaffected persons. CHAP. V. 1695. Burnet. Oldmixon. Boyer. Tindal. Ralph. Lives of the Admirals.

§ XXXI. After these warm demonstrations of loyalty, the Commons proceeded upon ways and means for raising the supplies. A new bank was constituted as a fund, upon which the sum of two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds should be raised; and it was called the Land Bank, because established on land securities. This scheme, said to have been projected by the famous Dr. Chamberlain, was patronised by the Earl of Sunderland, and managed by Foley and Harley; so that it seemed to be a Tory plan, which Sunderland supported, in order to reconcile himself to that party*. The Bank of England petitioned against this bill, and were heard Ann. 1696.

* The Commons resolved, That a fund redeemable by Parliament be settled in a national Land Bank, to be raised by new subscriptions; That no persons be concerned in both banks at the same time; That the duties upon coal, culm, and tonnage of ships be taken off, from the seventeenth day of March; That the sum of two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds be raised on this perpetual fund, redeemable by Parliament; That the new bank should be restrained from lending money but upon land securities, or to the Government in the Exchequer; That for making up the fund of interest for the capital stock, certain duties upon glass wares, stone, and earthen bottles, granted before to the King for a term of years, be continued to his Majesty, his heirs and successors; That a further duty be laid upon stone and earthen ware, and another upon tobacco-pipes. This bank was to lend out five hundred thousand pounds a-year upon land-securities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum, and to cease and determine, unless the subscription should be full, by the first day of August next ensuing.

The most remarkable laws enacted in this session were these: An act for voiding all the elections of Parliament-men, at which the elected had been

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heard by their counsel; but their representations produced no effect, and the bill, having passed through both Houses, received the royal assent. On the twenty-seventh day of April the King closed the session with a short but gracious speech; and the Parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth day of June.

§ XXXII. Before this period some of the conspirators had been brought to trial. The first who suffered was Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen-College, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the Protestant religion; the next were Lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys, which last had been formerly a trumpeter, but of late servant to Captain Porter. They were found guilty of high-treason, and executed at Tyburn. They delivered papers to the Sheriff, in which they solemnly declared, that they had never seen or heard of any commission from King James for assassinating the Prince of Orange: Charnock, in particular, observed, that he had received frequent assurances of the King's having rejected such proposals when they had been offered; and that there was no other commission but that for levying war in the usual form.

been at any expence in meat, drink, or money, to procure votes. Another against unlawful and double returns. A third, for the more easy recovery of small tithes. A fourth, to prevent marriages, without license or banns. A fifth, for enabling the inhabitants of Wales to dispose of all their personal estates as they should think fit: This law was in bar of a custom that had prevailed in that country: The widows and younger children claimed a share of the effects, called the Reasonable part, although the effects had otherwise been disposed of by will or deed. The Parliament likewise passed an act, for preventing the exportation of wool, and encouraging the importation thereof from Ireland. An act for encouraging the linen manufactures of Ireland. An act for regulating Juries. An act for encouraging the Greenland trade. An act of indulgence to the Quakers, that their solemn affirmation should be accepted instead of an oath. And an act for continuing certain other acts that were near expiring. Another bill had passed for the better regulating elections for members of Parliament; but the royal assent was denied. The question was put in the House of Commons, That whosoever advised his Majesty not to give his assent to that bill was an enemy to his country; but it was rejected by a great majority.

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Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins were tried in April. The first, from mean beginnings, had acquired great wealth and credit, and always firmly adhered to the interest of King James. The other was likewise a man of fortune, violently attached to the same principles, though he had taken the oaths to the present government, as one of the six clerks in Chancery. Porter, and Blair, another evidence, deposed that Sir John Friend had been concerned in levying men under a commission from King James; and that he knew of the assassination plot, though not engaged in it as a personal actor. He endeavoured to invalidate the testimony of Blair, by proving him guilty of the most shocking ingratitude. He observed, that both the evidences were reputed Papists. The Curate of Hackney, who officiated as chaplain in the prisoner's house, declared upon oath that after the Revolution he used to pray for King William, and that he had often heard Sir John Friend say, that though he could not comply with the present government, he would live peaceably under it, and never engage in any conspiracy. Mr. Hoadly, father of the present Bishop of Winchester, added, that the prisoner was a good Protestant, and frequently expressed his detestation of King-killing principles. Friend himself owned he had been with some of the conspirators at a meeting in Leadenhall-street, but heard nothing of raising men, or any design against the government. He likewise affirmed, that a consultation to levy war was not treason; and that his being at a treasonable consult could amount to no more than a misprision of treason. Lord Chief Justice Holt declared, that although a bare conspiracy, or design to levy war, was not treason within the statute of Edward III.; yet if the design or conspiracy be to kill, or depose, or imprison the King, by the means of levying war, then the consultation and conspiracy to levy war becomes high-treason, though no war be actually levied. The same

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inference might have been drawn against the authors and instruments of the Revolution. The Judge's explanation influenced the Jury, who, after some deliberation, found the prisoner guilty. Next day Sir William Perkins was brought to the bar, and upon the testimony of Porter, Ewebank, his own groom, and Haywood, a notorious informer, was convicted of having been concerned not only in the invasion, but also in the design against the King's life. The evidence was scanty, and the prisoner having been bred to the law, made an artful but vigorous defence: but the Judge acted as counsel for the Crown; and the Jury decided by the hints they received from the Bench. He and Sir John Friend underwent the sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn on the third day of April. Friend protested before God, that he knew of no immediate descent purposed by King James, and therefore had made no preparations; that he was utterly ignorant of the assassination scheme: that he died in the communion of the Church of England, and laid down his life cheerfully in the cause for which he suffered. Perkins declared, upon the word of a dying man, that the tenour of the King's commission, which he saw, was general, directed to all his loving subjects, to raise and levy war against the Prince of Orange and his adherents, and to seize all forts, castles, &c. but that he neither saw nor heard of any commission particularly levelled against the person of the Prince of Orange. He owned, however, that he was privy to the design: but believed it was known to few or none but the immediate undertakers. These two criminals were in their last moments attended by Collier, Snatt, and Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, who absolved them in the view of the populace with an imposition of hands: a publick insult on the government, which did not pass unnoticed. Those three clergymen were presented by the Grand Jury, for having countenanced the treason by absolving

solving the traitors, and thereby encouraged other persons to disturb the peace of the kingdom. An indictment being preferred against them, Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate; but Collier absconded, and published a vindication of their conduct, in which he affirmed, that the imposition of hands was the general practice of the primitive church. On the other hand, the two metropolitans and twelve other bishops subscribed a declaration, condemning the administration of absolution without a previous confession made, and abhorrence expressed by the prisoners, of the heinous crimes for which they suffered. CHAP. V. 1696.

In the course of the same month, Rookwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, were tried as conspirators, by a special commission, in the King's-Bench: and convicted on the joint testimony of Porter, Harris, La Rue, Bertram, Fisher, and Pendergrass. Some favourable circumstances appeared in the case of Lowick. The proof of his having been concerned in the design against the King's life was very defective; many persons of reputation declared he was an honest, good-natured, inoffensive man: and he himself concluded his defence with the most solemn protestation of his own innocence. Great intercession was made for his pardon by some noblemen: but all their interest proved ineffectual. Cranborne died in a transport of indignation, leaving a paper which the government thought proper to suppress. Lowick and Rookwood likewise delivered declarations to the Sheriff, the contents of which, as being less inflammatory, were allowed to be published. Both solemnly denied any knowledge of a commission from King James, to assassinate the Prince of Orange; the one affirming, that he was incapable of granting such an order; and the other asserting that he, the best of Kings, had often rejected proposals of that nature. Lowick owned that he would have joined the King at his landing; but declared,

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he had never been concerned in any bloody affair during the whole course of his life. On the contrary, he said, he had endeavoured to prevent bloodshed as much as lay in his power; and that he would not kill the most miserable creature in the world, even though such an act would save his life, restore his Sovereign, and make him one of the greatest men in England. Rookwood alleged, he was engaged by his immediate commander, whom he thought it was his duty to obey, though the service was much against his judgment and inclination. He professed his abhorrence of treachery even to an enemy. He forgave all mankind, even the Prince of Orange, who as a soldier, he said, ought to have considered his case before he signed his death-warrant: he prayed God would open his eyes, and render him sensible of the blood that was from all parts crying against him, so that he might avert a heavier execution than that which he now ordered to be inflicted. The next person brought to trial, was Mr. Cooke, son of Sir Miles Cooke, one of the six clerks in Chancery. Porter and Goodman deposed, that he had been present at two meetings at the King's-head tavern in Leadenhall-street, with the Lords Aylesbury and Montgomery, Sir William Perkins, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Charnock, and Porter. The evidence of Goodman was invalidated by the testimony of the landlord and two drawers belonging to the tavern, who swore that Goodman was not there while the noblemen were present. The prisoner himself solemnly protested, that he was ever averse to the introduction of foreign forces; that he did not so much as hear of the intended invasion, until it became the common topick of conversation; and that he had never seen Goodman at the King's-head. He declared his intention of receiving the blessed sacrament, and wished he might perish in the instant, if he now spoke untruth. No respect was paid to these asseverations.

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The Solicitor-General Hawles, and Lord Chief-Justice Treby, treated him with great severity in the prosecution and charge to the Jury, by whom he was capitally convicted. After his condemnation the Court-Agents tampered with him to make further discoveries; and after his fate had been protracted by divers short reprieves, he was sent into banishment. From the whole tenour of these discoveries and proceedings, it appears that James had actually meditated an invasion: that his partisans in England had made preparations for joining him on his arrival; that a few desperadoes of that faction had concerted a scheme against the life of King William; that in prosecuting the conspirators, the court had countenanced informers; that the judges had strained the law, wrested circumstances, and even deviated from the function of their office, to convict the prisoners: in a word, that the administration had used the same arbitrary and unfair practices against those unhappy people, which they themselves had in the late reigns numbered among the grievances of the kingdom. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XXXIII. The warmth, however, manifested on this occasion may have been owing to national resentment of the purposed invasion. Certain it is, the two Houses of Parliament, and the people in general, were animated with extraordinary indignation against France at this juncture. The Lords besought his Majesty in a solemn address, to appoint a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having defeated the barbarous purpose of his enemies; and this was observed with uncommon zeal and devotion. Admiral Russel, leaving a squadron for observation on the French coast, returned to the Downs; but Sir Cloudesly Shovel, being properly prepared for the expedition, subjected Calais to another bombardment, by which the town was set on fire in different parts, and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation. The Generals of the

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allied army in Flanders resolved to make some immediate retaliation upon the French for their unmanly design upon the life of King William, as they took it for granted that Louis was accessory to the scheme of assassination. That monarch, on the supposition that a powerful diversion would be made by the descent on England, had established a vast magazine at Givet, designing, when the Allies should be enfeebled by the absence of the British troops, to strike some stroke of importance early in the campaign. On this the confederates now determined to wreak their vengeance. In the beginning of March the Earl of Athlone and Monsieur de Coehorn, with the concurrence of the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, who commanded the Allies, sent a strong detachment of horse, drafted from Brussels and the neighbouring garrisons, to amuse the enemy on the side of Charleroy; while they assembled forty squadrons, thirty battalions, with fifteen pieces of cannon, and six mortars, in the territory of Namur. Athlone with part of this body invested Dinant, while Coehorn, with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to batter and bombard the place, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly destroyed, with the great magazine it contained. Then the two Generals joining their forces, returned to Namur without interruption. Hitherto the Republick of Venice had deferred acknowledging King William; but now they sent an extraordinary embassy for that purpose, consisting of Signiors Soranzo and Venier, who arrived in London, and on the first day of May had a publick audience. The King, on this occasion, knighted Sorenzo as the senior ambassador, and presented him with the sword, according to custom. On that day, too, William declared in council, that he had appointed the same regency which had governed the kingdom during his last absence: and embarking on the seventh at Margate, arrived at Orange-Polder

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in the evening, under convoy of Vice-Admiral Aylmer. This officer had been ordered to attend with a squadron, as the famous Du Bart still continued at Dunkirk, and some attempt of importance was apprehended from his enterprising genius*. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XXXIV. The French had taken the field before the allied army could be assembled: but no transaction of consequence distinguished this campaign, either upon the Rhine or in Flanders. The scheme of Louis was still defensive on the side of the Netherlands, while the active plans of King William were defeated for want of money. All the funds for this year proved defective: the Land-Bank failed, and the National-Bank sustained a rude shock in its credit. The loss of the nation upon the recoinage amounted to two millions, two hundred thousand pounds; and though the different mints were employed without interruption, they could not for some months supply the circulation, especially as great part of the new money was kept up by those who received it in payment, or disposed of it at an unreasonable advantage. The French King, having exhausted the wealth and patience of his subjects, and greatly diminished their number in the course of this war, began to be diffident of his arms, and employed all the art of private negociation. While his minister D'Avaux pressed the King of Sweden to offer his mediation, he sent Callieres to Holland, with proposals for settling the preliminaries of a treaty. He took it for granted, that as the Dutch were a trading people, whose commerce had greatly suffered in the war, they could not be averse to a pacification; and he instructed his emissaries to tamper

* Some promotions were made before the King left England. George Hamilton, third son of the Duke of that name, was, for his military services in Ireland and Flanders, created Earl of Orkney. Sir John Lowther was ennobled by the title of Baron Lowther, and Viscount Lonsdale; Sir John Thompson made Baron of Haversham; and the celebrated John Locke appointed one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantation.

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with the malcontents of the Republick, especially with the remains of the Louvestein faction, which had always opposed the schemes of the Stadtholder. Callieres met with a favourable reception from the States, which began to treat with him about the preliminaries, though not without the consent and concurrence of King William and the rest of the Allies. Louis, with a view to quicken the effect of this negociation, pursued offensive measures in Catalonia, where his General, the Duke de Vendome, attacked and worsted the Spaniards in their camp near Ostalrick, though the action was not decisive; for that General was obliged to retreat, after having made vigorous efforts against their entrenchments. On the twentieth day of June, Mareschal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, and encamped within a league of Eppingen, where the Imperial troops were obliged to entrench themselves, under the command of the Prince of Baden, as they were not yet joined by the auxiliary forces. The French General after having faced him about a month, thought proper to repass the river. Then he detached a body of horse to Flanders, and cantoned the rest of his troops at Spires, Franckendahl, Worms, and Ostofen. On the last day of August the Prince of Baden retaliated the insult, by passing the Rhine at Mentz and Cocsheim. On the tenth he was joined by General Thungen, who commanded a separate body, together with a militia of Suabia and Franconia, and advanced to the camp of the enemy, who had re-assembled: but they were posted in such a manner, that he would not hazard an attack. Having therefore cannonaded them for some days, scoured the adjacent country by detached parties, and taken the little castle of Wiezengen, he repassed the river at Worms, on the seventh day of October: the French likewise crossed at Philipsburgh in hopes of surprising General Thungen, who had taken post in the neighbourhood of Strasburgh; but he retired to Eppingen

Eppingen before their arrival, and in a little time both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. Peter, the Czar of Muscovy, carried on the siege of Azoph with such vigour, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate, after the Russians had defeated a great convoy sent to its relief. The Court of Vienna forthwith engaged in an alliance with the Muscovite Emperor: but they did not exert themselves in taking advantage of the disaster which the Turks had undergone. The Imperial army, commanded by the Elector of Saxony, continued inactive on the river Marosch till the nineteenth day of July, then they made a feint of attacking Temiswaer: but they marched towards Betzkerch, in their route to Belgrade, on receiving advice that the Grand Signor intended to besiege Titul. On the twenty-first day of August the two armies were in sight of each other. The Turkish horse attacked the Imperialists in a plain near the river Begue; but were repulsed. The Germans next day made a show of retreating, in hopes of drawing the enemy from their entrenchments. The stratagem succeeded. On the twenty-sixth, the Turkish army was in motion. A detachment of the Imperialists attacked them in flank, as they marched through a wood. A very desperate action ensued, in which the Generals Heusler, and Poland, with many other gallant officers, lost their lives. At length the Ottoman horse were routed: but the Germans were so roughly handled, that on the second day after the engagement they retreated at midnight, and the Turks remained quiet in their entrenchments.

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§ XXXV. In Piedmont the face of affairs underwent a strange alteration. The Duke of Savoy, who had for some time been engaged in a secret negociation with France, at length embraced the offers of that Crown, and privately signed a separate Treaty of Peace at Loretto, to which place he repaired on a pretended pilgrimage. The French King engaged

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to present him with four millions of livres, by way of reparation for the damage he had sustained; to assist him with a certain number of auxiliaries against all his enemies; and to effect a marriage between the Duke of Burgundy and the Princess of Piedmont, as soon as the parties should be marriageable. The treaty was guaranteed by the Pope and the Venetians, who were extremely desirous of seeing the Germans driven out of Italy. King William being apprised of this negociation, communicated the intelligence to the Earl of Galway, his ambassador at Turin, who expostulated with the Duke upon this defection: but he persisted in denying any such correspondence, until the advance of the French army enabled him to avow it, without fearing the resentment of the Allies whom he had abandoned. Catinat marched into the plains of Turin, at the head of fifty thousand men; an army greatly superior to that of the Confederates: Then the Duke imparted to the ministers of the Allies the proposals which France had made; represented the superior strength of her army; the danger to which he was exposed; and finally his inclination to embrace her offers. On the twelfth of July a truce was concluded for a month, and afterwards prolonged till the fifteenth of September. He wrote to all the powers engaged in the confederacy, except King William, expatiating on the same topicks, and soliciting their consent. Though each in particular refused to concur, he on the twenty-third day of August signed the treaty in publick, which he had before concluded in private. The Emperor was no sooner informed of his design, than he took every step which he thought could divert him from his purpose. He sent the Count Mansfelt to Turin, with proposals for a match between the King of the Romans and the Princess of Savoy, as well as with offers to augment his forces and his subsidy: but the Duke had already settled his terms with France, from which he would not recede. Prince Eugene, though his

his kinsman, expressed great indignation at his conduct. The young Prince de Commercy was so provoked at his defection, that he challenged him to single combat, and the Duke accepted of his challenge: but the quarrel was compromised by the intervention of friends, and they parted in an amicable manner. He had concealed the treaty until he should receive the remaining part of the subsidies due to him from the Confederates. A considerable sum had been remitted from England to Genoa for his use: but Lord Galway no sooner received intimation of his new engagement, than he put a stop to the payment of this money, which he employed in the Milanese, for the subsistence of those troops that were in the British service. King William was encamped at Glembours when the Duke's envoy notified the separate peace which his master had concluded with the King of France. Though he was extremely chagrined at the information, he dissembled his anger, and listened to the minister without the least emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty was, that within a limited time the Allies should evacuate the Duke's dominions, otherwise they should be expelled by the joint forces of France and Savoy. A neutrality was offered to the Confederates; and this being rejected, the contracting powers resolved to attack the Milanese. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the Duke, as Generalissimo of the French King, entered that duchy, and undertook the siege of Valentia: so that, in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. The garrison of Valentia, consisting of seven thousand men, Germans, Spaniards, and French Protestants, made an obstinate defence; and the Duke of Savoy prosecuted the siege with uncommon impetuosity. But, after the trenches had been opened for thirteen days, a courier arrived from Madrid, with an account of his Catholick Majesty's having agreed to the neutrality for Italy. The agreement imported,

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imported, that there should be a suspension of arms until a general peace could be effected; and, That the Imperial and French troops should return to their respective countries. Christendom had well nigh been embroiled anew by the death of John Sobieski King of Poland, who died at the age of seventy, in the course of this summer, after having survived his faculties and reputation. As the crown was elective, a competition arose for the succession. The kingdom was divided by factions; and the different powers of Europe interested themselves warmly in the contention.

§ XXXVI. Nothing of consequence had been lately atchieved by the naval force of England. When the conspiracy was first discovered, Sir George Rooke had received orders to return from Cadiz; and he arrived in the latter end of April. While he took his place at the board of Admiralty, Lord Berkeley succeeded to the command of the fleet; and in the month of June set sail towards Ushant in order to insult the coast of France. He pillaged and burned the villages on the islands Grouais, Houat, and Heydic; made prize of about twenty vessels; bombarded St. Martin's on the isle of Rhé, and the town of Olonne, which was set on fire in fifteen different places with the shells and carcasses. Though these appear to have been enterprises of small import, they certainly kept the whole coast of France in perpetual alarm. The ministry of that kingdom were so much afraid of invasion, that between Brest and Goulet they ordered above one hundred batteries to be erected, and above sixty thousand men were continually in arms for the defence of the maritime places. In the month of May, Rear-Admiral Benbow sailed with a small squadron, in order to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk: but that famous adventurer found means to escape in a fog, and steering to the eastward, attacked the Dutch fleet in the Baltick, under a convoy of five frigates. These

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last he took, together with half the number of the trading ships: but, falling in with the outward-bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ships of the line, he was obliged to burn four of the frigates, turn the fifth adrift, and part with all his prizes, except fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk.

§ XXXVII. The Parliament of Scotland met on the eighth day of September: and Lord Murray, Secretary of State, now Earl of Tullibardine, presided as King's Commissioner. Though that kingdom was exhausted by the war, and two successive bad harvests, which had driven a great number of the inhabitants into Ireland, there was no opposition to the Court measures. The members of Parliament signed an association like that of England. They granted a supply of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for maintaining their forces by sea and land. They passed an act for securing their religion, lives, and properties, in case his Majesty should come to an untimely death. By another, they obliged all persons in publick trust to sign the association; and then the Parliament was adjourned to the eighth day of December. The disturbances of Ireland seemed now to be entirely appeased. Lord Capel dying in May, the council, by virtue of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. elected the Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, to be Lord Justice and chief Governor of that kingdom, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known. The Parliament met in June: the Commons expelled Mr. Sanderson, the only member of that House who had refused to sign the association; and adjourned to the fourth day of August. By that time Sir Charles Porter, and the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda, were appointed Lords Justices, and signified the King's pleasure that they should adjourn. In the beginning of December the Chancellor died of an apoplexy.

§ XXXVIII.

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§ XXXVIII. King William being tired of an inactive campaign, left the army under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and about the latter end of August repaired to his palace at Loo, where he enjoyed his favourite exercise of stag-hunting. He visited the Court of Brandenburgh at Cleves; conferred with the States of Holland at the Hague; and embarking for England, landed at Margate on the sixth day of October. The domestick œconomy of the nation was extremely perplexed at this juncture, from the sinking of publick credit, and the stagnation that necessarily attended a recoinage. These grievances were with difficulty removed by the clear apprehension, the enterprising genius, the unshaken fortitude of Mr. Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer, operating upon the national spirit of adventure, which the monied interest had produced. The King opened the session of Parliament on the twentieth day of October, with a speech, importing, that overtures had been made for a negociation: but that the best way of treating with France would be sword in hand. He, therefore, desired they would be expeditious in raising the supplies for the service of the ensuing year, as well as for making good the funds already granted. He declared that the civil list could not be supported without their assistance. He recommended the miserable condition of the French Protestants to their compassion. He desired they would contrive the best expedients for the recovery of the national credit. He observed, that unanimity and dispatch were now more than ever necessary for the honour, safety, and advantage of England. The Commons having taken this speech into consideration, resolved that they would support his Majesty and his government, and assist him in the prosecution of the war: that the standard of gold and silver should not be altered: and, that they would make good all Parliamentary funds. Then they presented an address,

address, in a very spirited strain, declaring, that notwithstanding the blood and treasure of which the nation had been drained, the Commons of England would not be diverted from their firm resolutions of obtaining by war a safe and honourable peace. They, therefore, renewed their assurances, that they would support his Majesty against all his enemies at home and abroad. The House of Lords delivered another to the same purpose, declaring, that they would never be wanting or backward, on their parts, in what might be necessary to his Majesty's honour, the good of his kingdoms, and the quiet of Christendom. The Commons, in the first transports of their zeal, ordered two seditious pamphlets to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They deliberated upon the estimates, and granted above six millions for the service of the ensuing year. They resolved that a supply should be granted for making good the deficiency of Parliamentary funds; and appropriated several duties for this purpose.

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§ XXXIX. With respect to the coin, they brought in a bill, repealing an act for taking off the obligation and encouragement of coining guineas for a certain time, and for importing and coining guineas and half guineas, as the extravagant price of those coins, which occasioned this act, was now fallen. They passed a second bill for remedying the ill state of the coin; and a third explaining an act in the preceding session, for laying duties on low wines and spirits of the first extraction. In order to raise the supplies of the year, they resolved to tax all persons according to the true value of their real and personal estates, their stock upon land and in trade, their income by offices, pensions, and professions. A duty of one penny per week, for one year, was laid upon all persons not receiving alms. A further imposition of one farthing in the pound per week was fixed upon all servants receiving four pounds

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per annum, as wages, and upwards, to eight pounds a year inclusive. Those who received from eight to sixteen pounds were taxed at one halfpenny per pound. An aid of three shillings in the pound for one year was laid upon all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, according to their true value. Without specifying the particulars of those impositions, we shall only observe, that in the general charge, the Commons did not exempt one member of the commonwealth that could be supposed able to bear any part of the burthen. Provision was made, that hammered money should be received in payment of these duties, at the rate of five shillings and eightpence per ounce. All the deficiencies on annuities and monies borrowed on the credit of the Exchequer were transferred to this aid. The Treasury was enabled to borrow a million and a half at eight per cent. and to circulate Exchequer-bills to the amount of as much more. To cancel these debts, the surplus of all the supplies, except the three-shilling aid, was appropriated. The Commons voted one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for making good the deficiency in recoining the hammered money, and the recompence for bringing in plate to the Mint. This sum was raised by a tax or duty upon wrought plate, paper, pasteboard, vellum, and parchment, made or imported. Taking into consideration the services, and the present languishing state of the Bank, whose notes were at twenty per cent. discount, they resolved, that it should be enlarged by new subscriptions, made by four-fifths in tallies struck on parliamentary funds, and one-fifth in Bank-bills or notes: that effectual provision should be made by Parliament for paying the principal of all such tallies, as should be subscribed in the Bank, out of the funds agreed to be continued; that an interest of eight per cent. should be allowed on all such tallies; and, that the continuance of the Bank should be prolonged to the

first day of August, in the year one thousand, seven hundred and ten. That all assignment of orders on tallies subscribed into the Bank, should be registered in the Exchequer: that, before the day should be fixed for the beginning of the new subscriptions, the old should be made one hundred per cent. and what might exceed that value should be divided among the old members: that all the interest due on those tallies which might be subscribed in the Bank-stock, at that time appointed for subscriptions, to the end of the last preceding quarter on each tally, should be allowed as principal: that liberty should be given by Parliament to enlarge the number of Bank-bills, to the value of the sum that should be so subscribed, over and above the twelve hundred thousand pounds; provided they should be obliged to answer such bills and demands: and in default thereof, be answered by the Exchequer out of the first money due to them: that no other Bank should be erected or allowed by act of Parliament, during the continuance of the Bank of England: that this should be exempted from all tax or imposition: that no act of the corporation should forfeit the particular interest of any person concerned therein: that provision should be made to prevent the officers of the Exchequer, and all other officers and receivers of the revenue, from diverting, delaying, or obstructing the course of payments to the Bank: that care should be taken to prevent the altering, counterfeiting, or forging any Bank-bills or notes: that the estate and interest of each other in the stock of the corporation should be made a personal estate: that no contract made for any Bank-stock to be bought or sold should be valid in law or equity, unless actually registered in the Bank-books within seven days, and actually transferred within fourteen days after the contract should be made. A bill upon these resolutions was brought in, under the direction

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direction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer: it related to the continuation of tonnage and poundage upon wine, vinegar, and tobacco; and comprehended a clause for laying an additional duty upon salt, for two years and three quarters. All the several branches constituted a general fund, since known by the name of the General Mortgage, without prejudice to their former appropriations. The bill also provided, that the tallies should bear eight per cent. interest: that from the tenth of June for five years they should bear no more than six per cent. interest: and, that no premium or discount upon them should be taken. In case of the general funds proving insufficient to pay the whole interest, it was provided, that every proprietor should receive his proportion of the product, and the deficiency be made good from the next aid: but should the fund produce more than the interest, the surplus was destined to operate as a sinking fund for the discharge of the principal. In order to make up a deficiency of above eight hundred thousand pounds, occasioned by the failure of the Land-Bank, additional duties were laid upon leather: the time was enlarged for persons to come in and purchase the annuities payable by several former acts, and to obtain more certain interest in such annuities.

§ XL. Never were more vigorous measures taken to support the credit of the government; and never was the government served by such a set of enterprising undertakers. The Commons having received a message from the King, touching the condition of the civil list, resolved, that a sum not exceeding five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, shall be granted for the support of the civil list for the ensuing year, to be raised by a malt-tax, and additional duties upon mum, sweets, cyder and perry. They likewise resolved, that an additional aid of one shilling in the pound should be laid upon land, as an equivalent for the duty of

ten per cent. upon mixed goods. Provision was made for raising one million four hundred thousand pounds by a lottery. The Treasury was empowered to issue an additional number of Exchequer-bills, to the amount of twelve hundred thousand pounds, every hundred pounds bearing interest at the rate of five-pence a-day, and ten per cent. for circulation: finally, in order to liquidate the transport debt, which the funds established for that purpose had not been sufficient to defray, a money-bill was brought in, to oblige pedlars and hawkers to take out licences, and pay for them at certain stated prices. One cannot without astonishment reflect upon the prodigious efforts that were made upon this occasion, or consider without indignation the enormous fortunes that were raised up by usurers and extortioners from the distresses of their country. The nation did not seem to know its own strength, until it was put to this extraordinary trial: and the experiment of mortgaging funds succeeded so well, that later ministers have proceeded in the same system, imposing burthen upon burthen, as if they thought the sinews of the nation could never be overstrained.

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§ XLI. The publick credit being thus bolstered up by the singular address of Mr. Montagu, and the bills passed for the supplies of the ensuing year, the attention of the Commons was transferred to the case of Sir John Fenwick, who had been apprehended in the month of June at New Romney, in his way to France. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber, who accompanied him; but this man being seized, the letter was found, containing such a confession as plainly evinced him guilty. He then entered into a treaty with the Court for turning evidence, and delivered a long information in writing, which was sent abroad to his Majesty. He made no discoveries that could injure any of the Jacobites, who, by his account, and other concurring testimonies, appeared to be divided

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divided into two parties, known by the names of Compounders and Noncompounders. The first, headed by the Earl of Middleton, insisted upon receiving security from King James, that the religion and liberties of England should be preserved: whereas, the other party, at the head of which was the Earl of Melfort, resolved to bring him in without conditions, relying upon his own honour and generosity. King William having sent over an order for bringing Fenwick to trial, unless he should make more material discoveries, the prisoner, with a view to amuse the ministry, until he could take other measures for his own safety, accused the Earls of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Bath, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Russel, of having made their peace with King James, and engaged to act for his interest. Mean while his lady and relations tampered with the two witnesses, Porter and Goodman. The first of these discovered those practices to the government; and one Clancey, who acted as agent for Lady Fenwick, was tried, convicted of subornation, fined, and set in the pillory: but they had succeeded better in their attempts upon Goodman, who disappeared; so that one witness only remained, and Fenwick began to think his life was out of danger. Admiral Russel acquainted the House of Commons, that he and several persons of quality had been reflected upon in some informations of Sir John Fenwick; he therefore desired, that he might have an opportunity to justify his own character. Mr. Secretary Trumball produced the papers, which having been read, the Commons ordered, that Sir John Fenwick should be brought to the bar of the House. There he was exhorted by the Speaker to make an ample discovery; which, however, he declined, except with the proviso that he should first receive some security that what he might say should not prejudice himself. He was ordered to withdraw, until they should have deliberated on his request. Then he was called in again

again, and the Speaker told him, he might deserve the favour of the House, by making a full discovery. He desired he might be indulged with a little time to recollect himself, and promised to obey the command of the House. This favour being denied, he again insisted upon having security; which they refusing to grant, he chose to be silent, and was dismissed from the bar. The House voted, that his informations, reflecting upon the fidelity of several noblemen, members of the House, and others, upon hearsay, were false and scandalous, contrived to undermine the Government, and create jealousies between the King and his subjects, in order to stifle the conspiracy.

§ XLII. A motion being made, for leave to bring in a bill to attaint him of high treason, a warm debate ensued, and the question being put, was carried in the affirmative by a great majority. He was furnished with a copy of the bill, and allowed the use of pen, ink, paper, and counsel. When he presented a petition, praying that his counsel might be heard against passing the bill, they made an order, that his counsel should be allowed to make his defence at the bar of the House: so that he was surprised into an irregular trial, instead of being indulged with an opportunity of offering objections to their passing the bill of attainder. He was accordingly brought to the bar of the House; and the bill being read in his hearing, the Speaker called upon the King's counsel to open the evidence. The Prisoner's counsel objected to their proceeding to trial, alleging, that their Client had not received the least notice of their purpose, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence; but that they came to offer their reasons against the bill. The House, after a long debate, resolved, that he should be allowed further time to produce witnesses in his defence: that the counsel for the King should likewise be allowed to produce evidence to prove the treasons of which he stood indicted; and an order was

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made for his being brought to the bar again in three days. In pursuance of this order he appeared, when the indictment which had been found against him by the Grand Jury was produced; and Porter was examined as an evidence. Then the record of Clancey's conviction was read; and one Roe testified, that Dighton, the prisoner's solicitor, had offered him an annuity of one-hundred pounds, to discredit the testimony of Goodman. The King's counsel moved, that Goodman's examination, as taken by Mr. Vernon, clerk of the Council, might be read. Sir J. Powis and Sir Bartholomew Shower, the prisoner's counsel, warmly opposed this proposal: they affirmed, that a deposition, taken when the party affected by it was not present to cross-examine the deposer, could not be admitted in a case of five shillings value: that though the House was not bound by the rules of inferior Courts, it was nevertheless bound by the eternal and unalterable rules of justice; that no evidence, according to the rules of law, could be admitted in such a case, but that of living witnesses; and that the examination of a person who is absent was never read to supply his testimony. The dispute between the lawyers on this subject gave rise to a very violent debate among the Members of the House. Sir Edward Seymore, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Harley, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Manly, Sir Christopher Musgrave, and all the leaders of the Tory party, argued against the hardship and injustice of admitting this information as an evidence. They demonstrated, that it would be a step contrary to the practice of all Courts of Judicature, repugnant to the common notions of Justice and humanity, diametrically opposite to the last act for regulating trials in cases of high treason, and of dangerous consequences to the lives and liberties of the people. On the other hand, Lord Cutts, Sir Thomas Lyttleton, Mr. Montagu, Mr. Smith of the Treasury, and Trevor, the Attorney-General, affirmed, that the

House

House was not bound by any form of law whatsoever: that this was an extraordinary case, in which the safety of the government was deeply concerned: that though the common law might require two evidences in cases of Treason, the House had a power of deviating from those rules in extraordinary cases; that there was no reason to doubt of Sir John Fenwick's being concerned in the conspiracy: that he or his friends had tampered with Porter; and that there were strong presumptions to believe the same practices had induced Goodman to abscond. In a word, the Tories, either from party or patriotism, strenuously asserted the cause of liberty and humanity, by those very arguments which had been used against them in the former reigns; while the Whigs, with equal violence and more success, espoused the dictates of arbitrary power and oppression, in the face of their former principles, with which they were now upbraided. At length the question was put, whether or not the information of Goodman should be read? and was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seventy-three voices. Then two of the Grand Jury who had found the indictment, recited the evidence which had been given to them by Porter and Goodman: lastly, the King's counsel insisted upon producing the record of Cooke's conviction, as he had been tried for the same conspiracy. The prisoner's counsel objected, That, if such evidence was admitted, the trial of one person in the same company would be the trial of all; and it could not be expected that they who came to defend Sir John Fenwick only, should be prepared to answer the charge against Cooke. This article produced another vehement debate among the members; and the Whigs obtained a second victory. The record was read, and the King's counsel proceeded to call some of the Jury who served on Cooke's trial, to affirm, that he had been convicted on Goodman's evidence. Sir Bartholomew Shower said, he would submit it to the

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consideration of the House, whether it was just that the evidence against one person should conclude against another standing at a different bar, in defence of his life? The parties were again ordered to withdraw; and from this point arose a third debate, which ended, as the two former, to the disadvantage of the prisoner. The Jury being examined, Mr. Serjeant Gould moved, that Mr. Vernon might be desired to produce the intercepted letter from Sir John Fenwick to his lady. The prisoner's counsel warmly opposed this motion, insisting upon their proving it to be his hand-writing before it could be used against him; and no further stress was laid on this evidence. When they were called upon to enter on his defence, they pleaded incapacity to deliver matters of such importance after they had been fatigued with twelve hours attendance.

§ XLIII. The House resolved to hear such evidence as the prisoner had to produce that night. His counsel declared, that they had nothing then to produce but the copy of a record; and the second resolution was, that he should be brought up again next day at noon. He accordingly appeared at the bar, and Sir J. Powis proceeded on his defence. He observed, that the bill under consideration affected the lives of the subjects; and such precedents were dangerous: that Sir John Fenwick was forthcoming, in order to be tried by the ordinary methods of justice: that he was actually under process, had pleaded, and was ready to stand trial: that if there was sufficient clear evidence against him, as the King's Serjeant had declared, there was no reason for his being deprived of the benefit of such a trial as was the birthright of every British subject; and if there was a deficiency of legal evidence, he thought this was a very odd reason for the bill. He took notice that even the regicides had the benefit of such a trial: that the last act for regulating trials in cases of treason proved the great tenderness of the

laws

laws which affected the life of the subject: and he expressed his surprise that the very Parliament which had passed that law, should enact another for putting a person to death without any trial at all. He admitted that there had been many bills of attainder, but they were generally levelled at outlaws and fugitives: and some of them had been reversed in the sequel, as arbitrary and unjust. He urged, that this bill of attainder did not allege or say, that Sir John Fenwick was guilty of the treason for which he had been indicted; a circumstance which prevented him from producing witnesses to that and several matters upon which the King's counsel had expatiated. He said they had introduced evidence to prove circumstances not alleged in the bill, and defective evidence of those that were: that Porter was not examined upon oath: that nothing could be more severe than to pass sentence of death upon a man, corrupt his blood, and confiscate his estate, upon parole evidence; especially of such a wretch, who, by his own confession, had been engaged in a crime of the blackest nature, not a convert to the dictates of conscience, but a coward, shrinking from the danger by which he had been environed, and even now drudging for a pardon. He invalidated the evidence of Goodman's examination. He observed, that the indictment mentioned a conspiracy to call in a foreign power; but, as this conspiracy had not been put in practice, such an agreement was not a sufficient overt-act of treason, according to the opinion of Hawles, the Solicitor-General, concerned in this very prosecution. So saying, he produced a book of remarks, which that lawyer had published on the cases of Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, and others, who had suffered death in the reign of Charles II. This author (said he) takes notice, that a conspiracy or agreement to levy war, is not treason without actually levying war; a sentiment on which he concurred with Lord Coke, and Lord Chief

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Chief Justice Hales. He concluded with saying, "We know at present on what ground we stand; "by the statute of Edward III. we know what treason is; by the two statutes of Edward VI. and "the late act, we know what is proof; by the "Magna Charta we know we are to be tried *per* "*legem terræ et per judicium parium*, by the law "of the land and the judgment of our peers; but, "if bills of attainder come into fashion, we shall "neither know what is treason, what is evidence, "nor how, nor where we are to be tried."—He was seconded by Sir Bartholomew Shower, who spoke with equal energy and elocution; and their arguments were answered by the King's counsel. The argument in favour of the bill imported, that the Parliament would not interpose, except in extraordinary cases; that here the evidence necessary in inferior Courts being defective, the Parliament, which was not tied down by legal evidence, had a right to exert their extraordinary power in punishing an offender, who would otherwise escape with impunity: that as the law stood, he was but a sorry politician that could not ruin the Government, and yet elude the statute of treason; that if a plot, after being discovered, should not be thoroughly prosecuted, it would strengthen and grow upon the administration, and probably at length subvert the Government: that it was notorious that parties were forming for King James; persons were plotting in every part of the kingdom, and an open invasion was threatened; therefore this was a proper time for the Parliament to exert their extraordinary power: that the English differed from all other nations, in bringing the witnesses and the prisoner face to face, and requiring two witnesses in cases of treason: nor did the English law itself require the same proof in some cases, as in others; for one witness was sufficient in felony, as well as for the treason of coining: that Fenwick was notoriously guilty,

and

and deserved to feel the resentment of the nation: that he would have been brought to exemplary punishment in the ordinary courts of justice, had he not eluded it by corrupting evidence, and withdrawing a witness. If this reasoning be just, the House of Commons has a right to act in diametrical opposition to the laws in being; and is vested with a despotick power over the lives and fortunes of their constituents, for whose protection they are constituted. Let us, therefore, reflect upon the possibility of a Parliament debauched by the arts of corruption into servile compliance with the designs of an arbitrary Prince, and tremble for the consequence. The debate being finished, the Prisoner was, at the desire of Admiral Russel, questioned with regard to the imputations he had fixed upon that gentleman and others, from hearsay: but he desired to be excused on account of the risque he ran while under a double prosecution, if any thing which should escape him might be turned to his prejudice. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XLIV. After he was removed from the bar, Mr. Vernon, at the desire of the House, recapitulated the arts and practices of Sir John Fenwick and his friends, to procrastinate the trial. The bill was read a second time; and the Speaker asking, if the question should be put for its being committed? the House was immediately kindled into a new flame of contention. Hawles, the Solicitor-General, affirmed, that the House in the present case should act both as judge and jury. Mr. Harcourt said, he knew no trial for treason but what was confirmed by *Magna Charta*, by a jury, the birthright and darling privilege of an Englishman, or *per regem terræ*, which includes impeachments in Parliament: that it was a strange trial where the person accused had a chance to be hanged, but none to be saved: that he never heard of a juryman who was not on his oath, nor of a judge who had not power to examine witnesses upon oath, and who was not empowered to save the innocent

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innocent as well as to condemn the guilty. Sir Thomas Lyttleton was of opinion, that the Parliament ought not to stand upon little niceties and forms of other Courts, when the government was at stake. Mr. Howe asserted, that to do a thing of this nature, because the Parliament had power to do it, was a strange way of reasoning: that what was justice and equity at Westminster-hall, was justice and equity every where: that one bad precedent in Parliament was of worse consequence than an hundred in Westminster-hall, because personal or private injuries did not foreclose the claims of original right; whereas the Parliament could ruin the nation beyond redemption, because it could establish tyranny by law. Sir Richard Temple, in arguing against the bill, observed, that the power of Parliament is to make any law, but the jurisdiction of Parliament is to govern itself by the law: to make a law, therefore, against all the laws of England, was the *ultimum remedium et pessimum*, never to be used but in case of absolute necessity. He affirmed, that by this precedent the House overthrew all the laws of England; first, in condemning a man upon one witness; secondly, in passing an act without any trial. The Commons never did nor can assume a jurisdiction of trying any person: they may, for their own information, hear what can be offered; but it is not a trial where witnesses are not upon oath. All bills of attainder have passed against persons that were dead or fled, or without the compass of the law: some have been brought in after trials in Westminster-hall; but none of those have been called trials, and they were generally reversed. He denied that the Parliament had power to declare any thing treason which was not treason before. When inferior Courts were dubious, the case might be brought before the Parliament, to judge whether it was treason or felony; but then they must judge by the laws in being; and this judgment was not in the Parliament

ment by bill, but only in the House of Lords. Lord Digby, Mr. Harley, and Colonel Granville, spoke to the same purpose. But their arguments and remonstrances had no effect upon the majority, by whom the prisoner was devoted to destruction. The bill was committed, passed, and sent up to the House of Lords, where it produced the longest and warmest debates which had been known since the Restoration. Bishop Burnet signalized his zeal for the government, by a long speech in favour of the bill, contradicting some of the fundamental maxims which he had formerly avowed in behalf of the liberties of the people. At length it was carried by a majority of seven voices; and one-and-forty lords, including eight prelates, entered a protest, couched in the strongest terms, against the decision.

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§. XLV. When the bill received the Royal assent, another act of the like nature passed against Barclay, Holmes, and nine other conspirators who had fled from justice, in case they should not surrender themselves on or before the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing. Sir John Fenwick solicited the mediation of the Lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the Royal mercy. The Peers gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend upon the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for a pardon; and they insisted upon his depending on their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death, which last he at length chose to undergo, rather than incur the disgraceful character of an informer. He was complimented with the axe, in consideration of his rank and alliance with the house of Howard, and suffered on Tower-hill with great composure. In the paper which he delivered to the Sheriff, he took God to witness, that he knew not of the intended invasion, until it was the common subject of discourse; nor was he engaged in any shape for the service of King James. He thanked

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An. 1697. § XLVI. While Fenwick's affair was in agitation, the Earl of Monmouth had set on foot some practices against the Duke of Shrewsbury. One Matthew Smith, nephew to Sir William Perkins, had been entertained as a spy by this nobleman, who finding his intelligence of very little use or importance, dismissed him as a troublesome dependent. Then he had recourse to the Earl of Monmouth, into whom he infused unfavourable sentiments of the Duke; insinuating, that he had made great discoveries, which from sinister motives were suppressed. Monmouth communicated those impressions to the Earl of Portland, who inlisted Smith as one of his intelligencers. Copies of the letters he had sent to the Duke of Shrewsbury were delivered to Secretary Trumball, sealed up for the perusal of his Majesty at his return from Flanders. When Fenwick mentioned the Duke of Shrewsbury in his discoveries, the Earl of Monmouth resolved to seize the opportunity of ruining that nobleman. He, by the channel of the Duchess of Norfolk, exhorted Lady Fenwick to prevail upon her husband to persist in his accusation, and even dictated a paper of directions. Fenwick rejected the proposal with disdain, as a scandalous contrivance; and Monmouth was so incensed at his refusal, that when the bill of attainder

attainder appeared in the House of Lords, he spoke in favour of it with peculiar vehemence. Lady Fenwick, provoked at this cruel outrage, prevailed upon her nephew, the Earl of Carlisle, to move the House that Sir John might be examined touching any advices that had been sent to him, with relation to his discoveries. Fenwick being interrogated accordingly, gave an account of all the particulars of Monmouth's scheme, which was calculated to ruin the Duke of Shrewsbury, by bringing Smith's letters on the carpet. The Duchess of Norfolk and a confidant were examined, and confirmed the detection. The House called for Smith's letters, which were produced by Sir William Trumball. The Earl of Monmouth was committed to the Tower, and dismissed from all his employments. He was released, however, at the end of the session; and the court made up all his losses in private, lest he should be tempted to join the opposition.

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§ XLVII. The Whigs, before they were glutted with the sacrifice of Fenwick, had determined to let loose their vengeance upon Sir George Rooke, who was a leader in the opposite interest. Sir Cloudesley Shovel had been sent with a squadron to look into Brest, where, according to the intelligence which the government had received, the French were employed in preparing for a descent upon England: but this information was false. They were busy in equipping an armament for the West Indies, under the command of M. Pointis, who actually sailed to the coast of New-Spain, and took the city of Carthagena. Rooke had been ordered to intercept the Toulon squadron in its way to Brest; but his endeavours miscarried. The Commons, in a committee of the whole House, resolved to enquire why this fleet was not intercepted; Rooke underwent a long examination, and was obliged to produce his journal, orders, and letters. Shovel and Mitchel were likewise examined; but nothing appearing to the pre-

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judice of the Admiral, the House thought proper to desist from their prosecution. After they had determined on the fate of Fenwick, they proceeded to enact several laws for regulating the domestick œconomy of the nation: among others, they passed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors, in cases of escape, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places. Ever since the reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been sanctuaries during the prevalence of the Popish religion, afforded asylums to debtors, and were become receptacles of desperate persons, who presumed to set the law at defiance. One of these places, called White-Friars, was filled with a crew of ruffians, who every day committed acts of violence and outrage; but this law was so vigorously put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the district, which was soon filled with more creditable inhabitants. On the sixteenth day of April, the King closed the session with a short speech, thanking the Parliament for the great supplies they had so cheerfully granted, and expressing his satisfaction at the measures they had taken for retrieving the publick credit. Before he quitted the kingdom, he ventured to produce upon the scene the Earl of Sunderland, who had hitherto promoted his councils behind the curtain. That politician was now sworn of the privy-council, and gratified with the office of Lord-Chamberlain, which had been resigned by the Earl of Dorset, a nobleman of elegant talents and invincible indolence; severe and poignant in his writings and remarks upon mankind in general, but humane, good-natured, and generous to excess, in his commerce with individuals.

Burnet. Kennet. Oldmixon. State Trials. Tindal. Ralph. Lives of the Admirals.

§ XLVIII. William having made some promotions*, and appointed a Regency, embarked on the twenty-

* Somers was created a Baron, and appointed Lord Chancellor of England: Admiral Russel was dignified with the title of the Earl of Orford.

twenty-sixth day of April for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negociation for a general peace. By this time the preliminaries were settled, between Callieres the French Minister, and Mr. Dykveldt, in behalf of the States-General, who resolved, in consequence of the concessions made by France, that, in concert with their allies, the mediation of Sweden might be accepted. The Emperor and the court of Spain, however, were not satisfied with those concessions: yet his Imperial Majesty declared he would embrace the proffered mediation, provided the treaty of Westphalia should be re-established; and provided the King of Sweden would engage to join his troops with those of the Allies, in case France should break through this stipulation. This proposal being delivered, the ministers of England and Holland at Vienna presented a joint memorial, pressing his Imperial Majesty to accept the mediation without reserve, and name a place at which the Congress might be opened. The Emperor complied with reluctance. On the fourteenth day of February, all the ministers of the Allies, except the Ambassador of Spain, agreed to the proposal; and next day signified their assent in form to M. Lillienroot, the Swedish Plenipotentiary. Spain demanded, as a preliminary, that France should agree to restore all the places mentioned in a long list which the minister of that Crown presented to the assembly. The Emperor proposed, that the congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Franckfort, or some other town in Germany. The other Allies were more disposed to negociate in Holland. At length the French King suggested, that no place would be more proper than a palace belonging to King William, called Newbourg-house, situated be-

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Orford. In February the Earl of Aylesbury, who had been committed on account of the conspiracy, was released upon bail; but this privilege was denied to Lord Montgomery, who had been imprisoned in Newgate on the same account.

tween,

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tween the Hague and Delft, close to the village of Ryswick; and to this proposition the ministers agreed. Those of England were the Earl of Pembroke, a virtuous, learned, and popular nobleman, the Lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson: France sent Harley and Crecy to the assistance of Gallieres. Louis was not only tired of the war, on account of the misery in which it had involved his kingdom; but in desiring a peace he was actuated by another motive. The King of Spain had been for some time in a very ill state of health, and the French Monarch had an eye to the succession. This aim could not be accomplished while the confederacy subsisted; therefore he eagerly sought a peace, that he might at once turn his whole power against Spain, as soon as Charles should expire. The Emperor harboured the same design upon the Spanish Crown, and for that reason interested himself in the continuance of the grand alliance. Besides, he foresaw he should in a little time be able to act against France with an augmented force. The Czar of Muscovy had engaged to find employment for the Turks and Tartars. He intended to raise the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland; and he had made some progress in a negociation with the Circles of the Rhine, for a considerable body of auxiliary troops. The Dutch had no other view but that of securing a barrier in the Netherlands. King William insisted upon the French King's acknowledging his title; and the English nation wished for nothing so much as the end of a ruinous war. On the tenth day of February, Callieres, in the name of his master, agreed to the following preliminaries: That the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the basis of this negociation; that Strasbourg should be restored to the empire, and Luxembourg to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all places taken by the French in Catalonia since the treaty of Nimeguen; that Dinant

nant should be ceded to the Bishop of Liege, and all re-union since the treaty of Nimeguen be made void: that the French King should make restitution of Lorraine, and, upon conclusion of the peace, acknowledge the Prince of Orange as King of Great-Britain, without condition or reserve. The conferences were interrupted by the death of Charles XI. King of Sweden, who was succeeded by his son Charles, then a minor: but the Queen and five senators, whom the late King had by will appointed administrators of the government, resolved to pursue the mediation, and sent a new commission to Lillienroot for that purpose. The ceremonials being regulated with the consent of all parties, the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor delivered their master's demands to the mediator, on the twenty-second day of May, and several German ministers gave in the pretensions of the respective Princes whom they represented. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ XLIX. Mean while, the French King, in the hope of procuring more favourable terms, resolved to make his last effort against the Spaniards in Catalonia and in the Netherlands, and to elevate the Prince of Conti to the throne of Poland; an event which would have greatly improved the interest of France in Europe. Louis had got the start of the Confederates in Flanders, and sent thither a very numerous army, commanded by Catinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers. The Campaign was opened with the siege of Aeth, which was no sooner invested, than King William, having recovered of an indisposition, took the field, and had an interview with the Duke of Bavaria, who commanded a separate body. He did not think proper to interrupt the enemy in their operations before Aeth, which surrendered in a few days after the trenches were opened; but contented himself with taking possession of an advantageous camp, where he covered Brussels, which Villeroy and Boufflers had determined to besiege. In Catalonia,

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lonia; the Duke of Vendome invested Barcelona, in which there was a garrison of ten thousand regular soldiers, besides five thousand burghers, who had voluntarily taken arms on this occasion. The Governor of the place was the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who had served in Ireland, and been vested with the command of the Imperial troops which were sent into Spain. The French General being reinforced from Provence and Languedoc, carried on his approaches with surprising impetuosity; and was repulsed in several attacks by the valour of the defendants. At length the enemy surprised and routed the Viceroy of Catalonia; and, flushed with this victory, stormed the outworks, which had been long battered with their cannon. The dispute was very bloody and obstinate; but the French, by dint of numbers, made themselves masters of the covered way and two bastions. There they erected batteries of cannon and mortars, and fired furiously on the town, which, however, the Prince of Hesse resolved to defend to the last extremity. The Court of Madrid, however, unwilling to see the place entirely ruined, as in all probability it would be restored at the peace, dispatched an order to the Prince to capitulate; and he obtained very honourable terms, after having made a glorious defence for nine weeks; in consideration of which he was appointed Viceroy of the Province. France was no sooner in possession of this important place, than the Spaniards became as eager for peace as they had been before averse to a negociation.

§ L. Their impatience was not a little inflamed by the success of Pointis in America, where he took Carthagena in which he found a booty amounting to eight millions of crowns. Having ruined the fortifications of the place, and received advice that an English squadron under Admiral Nevil had arrived in the West-Indies, with a design to attack him in his return, he bore away for the Straits of Bahama.

hama. On the twenty-second day of May he fell in with the English fleet, and one of his fly-boats was taken: but such was his dexterity or good fortune, that he escaped after having been pursued five days, during which the English and Dutch Rear-Admirals sprang their fore-topmasts, and received other damage, so that they could not proceed. Then Nevil steered to Carthagena, which he found quite abandoned by the inhabitants, who, after the departure of Pointis, had been rifled a second time by the buccaneers, on pretence that they had been defrauded of their share of the plunder. This was really the case; they had in a great measure contributed to the success of Pointis, and were very ill rewarded. In a few days the English Admiral discovered eight sail of their ships, two of which were forced on shore and destroyed, two taken, and the rest escaped. Then he directed his course to Jamaica, and, by the advice of the Governor, Sir William Beeston detached Rear-Admiral Meeze with some ships and forces to attack Petit-Guavas, which he accordingly surprised, burned, and reduced to ashes. After this small expedition, Nevil proceeded to the Havannah on purpose to take the galleons under his convoy for Europe, according to the instructions he had received from the King: but the Governor of the place, and the General of the Plate-fleet, suspecting such an offer, would neither suffer him to enter the harbour, nor put the galleons under his protection. He now sailed through the gulf of Florida to Virginia, where he died of chagrin, and the command of the fleet devolved on Captain Dilkes, who arrived in England on the twenty-fourth day of October, with a shattered squadron, half manned, to the unspeakable mortification of the people, who flattered themselves with the hopes of wealth and glory from this expedition. Pointis, steering to the banks of Newfoundland, entered the bay of Conceptione, at a time when a stout English squadron, commanded by

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Commodore Norris, lay at anchor in the bay of St. John. This officer being informed of the arrival of a French fleet, at first concluded, that it was the squadron of M. Nesmond come to attack him, and exerted his utmost endeavours to put the place in a posture of defence: but, afterwards, understanding that it was Pointis returning with the spoil of Carthagena, he called a council of war, and proposed to go immediately in quest of the enemy. He was, however, over-ruled by a majority, who gave it as their opinion that they should remain where they were, without running unnecessary hazard. By virtue of this scandalous determination, Pointis was permitted to proceed on his voyage to Europe; but he had not yet escaped every danger. On the fourteenth day of August he fell in with a squadron under the command of Captain Harlow, by whom he was boldly engaged till night parted the combatants. He was pursued next day; but his ships sailing better than those of Harlow, he accomplished his escape, and on the morrow entered the harbour of Brest. That his ships which were foul, should out-sail the English squadron, which had just put to sea, was a mystery which the people of England could not explain. They complained of having been betrayed through the whole course of the West-Indian expedition. The King owned he did not understand marine affairs, the entire conduct of which he abandoned to Russel, who became proud, arbitrary, and unpopular, and was supposed to be betrayed by his dependents. Certain it is, the service was greatly obstructed by faction among the officers, which with respect to the nation had all the effects of treachery and misconduct.

§ LI. The success of the French in Catalonia, Flanders, and the West-Indies, was balanced by their disappointment in Poland. Louis encouraged by the remonstrances of the Abbé de Polignac, who managed the affairs of France in that kingdom, resolved to support the Prince of Conti as a candidate for

for the crown, and remitted great sums of money, which were distributed among the Polish nobility. The Emperor had at first declared for the son of the late King: but, finding the French party too strong for his competitor, he entered into a negociation with the Elector of Saxony, who agreed to change his religion, to distribute eight millions of florins among the Poles, to confirm their privileges, and advance with his troops to the frontiers of that kingdom. Having performed these articles, he declared himself a candidate, and was publickly espoused by the Imperialists. The Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Baden, and Don Livio Odeschalchi, nephew to Pope Innocent, were likewise competitors; but finding their interest insufficient, they united their influence with that of the Elector, who was proclaimed King of Poland. He forthwith took the oath required, procured an attestation from the Imperial Court of his having changed his religion, and marched with his army to Cracow, where he was crowned with the usual solemnity. Louis persisted in maintaining the pretensions of the Prince of Conti, and equipped a fleet at Dunkirk for his convoy to Dantzick in his way to Poland. But the magistrates of that city, who had declared for the new King, would not suffer his men to land, though they offered to admit himself with a small retinue. He, therefore went on shore at Marienburgh, where he was met by some chiefs of his own party; but the new King Augustus acted with such vigilance, that he found it impracticable to form an army: besides he suspected the fidelity of his own Polishpartisans: he, therefore, refused to part with the treasure he had brought, and in the beginning of winter returned to Dunkirk.

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§ LII. The establishment of Augustus on the throne of Poland was in some measure owing to the conduct of Peter the Czar of Muscovy, who having formed great designs against the Ottoman-Porte,

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was very unwilling to see the Crown of Poland possessed by a partisan of France, which was in alliance with the Grand Signor. He, therefore, interested himself warmly in the dispute, and ordered his General to assemble an army on the frontiers of Lithuania, which, by overawing the Poles that were in the interest of the Prince of Conti, considerable influenced the election. This extraordinary legislator, who was a strange compound of heroism and barbarity, conscious of the defects in his education, and of the gross ignorance that overspread his dominions, resolved to extend his ideas, and improve his judgment, by travelling; and that he might be the less restricted by forms, or interrupted by officious curiosity, he determined to travel in disguise. He was extremely ambitious of becoming a maritime power, and in particular of maintaining a fleet in the Black-sea; and his immediate aim was to learn the principles of ship-building. He appointed an embassy for Holland, to regulate some points of commerce with the States-General. Having entrusted the care of his dominions to persons in whom he could confide, he now disguised himself, and travelled as one of their retinue. He first disclosed himself to the Elector of Brandenburgh in Prussia, and afterwards to King William, with whom he conferred in private at Utrecht. He engaged himself as a common labourer with a ship-carpenter in Holland, whom he served for some months with wonderful patience and assiduity. He afterwards visited England, where he amused himself chiefly with the same kind of occupation. From thence he sat out for Vienna, where receiving advices from his dominions, that his sister was concerned in managing intrigues against his government, he returned suddenly to Moscow, and found the machinations of the conspirators were already baffled by the vigilance and fidelity of the foreigners to whom he had left the care of the administration. His savage nature, however, broke out upon

upon this occasion; he ordered some hundreds to be hanged all round his capital; and a good number were beheaded, he himself with his own hand performing the office of executioner. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ LIII. The negociations at Ryswick proceeded very slowly for some time. The imperial minister demanded, that France should make restitution of all the places and dominions she had wrested from the Empire since the peace of Munster, whether by force of arms or pretence of right. The Spaniards claimed all they could demand by virtue of the peace of Nimeguen and the treaty of the Pyrennees. The French affirmed, that if the preliminaries offered by Callières were accepted, these propositions could not be taken into consideration. The imperialists persisted in demanding a circumstantial answer, article by article. The Spaniards insisted upon the same manner of proceeding, and called upon the mediator and Dutch ministers to support their pretensions. The Plenipotentiaries of France declared, they would not admit any demand or proposition, contrary to the preliminary articles: but were willing to deliver in a project of peace, in order to shorten the negociations, and the Spanish Ambassadors consented to this expedient. During these transactions, the Earl of Portland held a conference with Mareschal Boufflers, near Halle, in sight of the two opposite armies, which was continued in five successive meetings. On the second day of August they retired together to a house in the suburbs of Halle, and mutually signed a paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England were adjusted. Next day King William quitted the camp, and retired to his house at Loo, confident of having taken such measures for a pacification as could not be disappointed. The subject of this field negociation is said to have turned upon the interest of King James, which the French monarch promised to abandon: others, however,

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however, suppose that the first foundation of the partition treaty was laid in this conference. But, in all probability, William's sole aim was to put an end to an expensive and unsuccessful war, which had rendered him very unpopular in his own dominions, and to obtain from the Court of France an acknowledgment of his title, which had since the Queen's death become the subject of dispute. He perceived the Emperor's backwardness towards a pacification, and foresaw numberless difficulties in discussing such a complication of interests by the common method of treating: he, therefore, chose such a step as he thought would alarm the jealousy of the Allies, and quicken the negociation at Ryswick. Before the congress was opened, King James had published two manifestoes, addressed to the Catholick and Protestant Princes of the confederacy, representing his wrongs, and craving redress; but his remonstrances being altogether disregarded, he afterwards issued a third declaration, solemnly protesting against all that might or should be negociated, regulated, or stipulated with the usurper of his realms, as being void of all rightful and lawful authority. On the twentieth day of July the French Ambassadors produced their project of a general peace, declaring at the same time, that should it not be accepted before the last day of August, France would not hold herself bound for the conditions she now offered: but Caunitz, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, protested he would pay no regard to this limitation. On the thirtieth of August, however, he delivered to the mediators an ultimatum, importing, That he adhered to the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, and accepted of Strasbourg with its appurtenances; That he insisted upon the restitution of Lorraine to the Prince of that name; and demanded, That the Church and Chapter of Liege should be re-established in the possession of their incontestable rights. Next day the French Plenipotentiaries declared, That

That the month of August being now expired, all their offers were vacated: That, therefore, the King of France would reserve Strasbourg and unite it, with its dependencies, to his Crown for ever: That in other respects he would adhere to the project, and restore Barcelona to the Crown of Spain; but that these terms must be accepted in twenty days, otherwise he should think himself at liberty to recede. The ministers of the Electors and Princes of the empire joined in a written remonstrance to the Spanish Plenipotentiaries, representing the inconveniencies and dangers that would accrue to the Germanick body from France's being in possession of Luxembourg, and exhorting them in the strongest terms to reject all offers of an equivalent for that province. They likewise presented another to the States-General, requiring them to continue the war, according to their engagements, until France should have complied with the preliminaries. No regard, however, was paid to either of these addresses. Then the Imperial Ambassadors demanded the good offices of the mediator, on certain articles: But all that he could obtain of France was, that the term for adjusting the peace between her and the Emperor should be prolonged till the first day of November, and in the mean time an armistice be punctually observed. Yet even these concessions were made, on condition that the treaty with England, Spain, and Holland should be signed on that day, even though the Emperor and Empire should not concur. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ LIV. Accordingly, on the twentieth day of September, the articles were subscribed by the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French Ambassadors, while the Imperial Ministers protested against the transaction, observing, this was the second time that a separate peace had been concluded with France, and that the States of the Empire, who had been imposed upon through their own credulity, would not for the future be so easily persuaded to engage

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engage in confederacies. In certain preparatory articles settled between England and France, King William promised to pay a yearly pension to Queen Mary D'Esté, of fifty thousand pounds, or such sum as should be established for that purpose by act of Parliament. The treaty itself consisted of seventeen articles. The French King engaged, that he would not disturb or disquiet the King of Great Britain in the possession of his realms or government: nor assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person. This obligation was reciprocal. A free commerce was restored. Commissaries were appointed to meet at London, and settle the pretensions of each Crown to Hudson's Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and retaken by the English in the course of the war; and to regulate the limits of the places to be restored, as well as the exchanges to be made. It was likewise stipulated, That, in case of a rupture, six months should be allowed to the subjects of each power for removing their effects: That the separate articles of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, should be entirely executed: and, That the ratifications should be exchanged in three weeks from the day of signing. The treaty between France and Holland imported a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a mutual restitution, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other, a confirmation of the peace with Savoy, a re-establishment of the treaty concluded between France and Brandenburgh, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, a comprehension of Sweden, and all those powers that should be named before the ratification, or in six months after the conclusion of the treaty. Besides, the Dutch ministers concluded a treaty of commerce with France, which was immediately put in execution. Spain had great reason to be satisfied with the pacification, by which she recovered Gironne, Roses, Barcelona, Luxembourg,

bourg, Charleroy, Mons, Courtray, and all the towns, fortresses, and territories taken by the French, in the province of Luxembourg, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty-two towns and villages claimed by the French: this dispute was left to the decision of Commissaries; or, in case they should not agree, to the determination of the States-General. A remonstrance in favour of the French Protestant refugees in England, Holland, and Germany, was delivered by the Earl of Pembroke to the mediators, in the name of the Protestant Allies, on the day that preceded the conclusion of the treaty; but the French Plenipotentiaries declared, in the name of their master, that as he did not pretend to prescribe rules to King William about the English subjects, he expected the same liberty with respect to his own. No other effort was made in behalf of those conscientious exiles; the treaties were ratified, and the peace proclaimed at Paris and London. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ LV. The Emperor still held out, and perhaps was encouraged to persevere in his obstinacy by the success of his arms in Hungary, where his General, Prince Eugene of Savoy, obtained a complete victory at Zenta over the forces of the Grand Signor, who commanded his army in person. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh day of September, the Grand Visir, the Aga of the Janissaries, seven-and-twenty bashaws, and about thirty thousand men, were killed or drowned in the river Theysse: six thousand were wounded or taken, together with all their artillery, tents, baggage, provision, and ammunition, the Grand Signor himself escaping with difficulty; a victory the more glorious and acceptable, as the Turks had a great superiority in point of number, and as the Imperialists did not lose a thousand men during the whole action. The Emperor, perceiving that the event of this battle had no effect in retarding the treaty, thought

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thought proper to make use of the armistice, and continued the negociation after the forementioned treaties had been signed. This was likewise the case with the Princes of the Empire; though those of the Protestant persuasion complained, that their interest was neglected. In one of the articles of the treaty, it was stipulated, That in the places to be restored by France, the Roman Catholic religion should continue as it had been re-established. The Ambassadors of the Protestant princes joined in a remonstrance, demanding, That the Lutheran religion should be restored in those places where it had formerly prevailed; but this demand was rejected, as being equally disagreeable to France and the Emperor. Then they refused to sign the treaty, which was now concluded between France, the Emperor and the Catholick princes of the Empire. By this pacification, Tires, the Palatinate, and Lorraine, were restored to their respective owners. The countries of Spanheim and Veldentz, together with the dutchy of Deux Ponts, were ceded to the King of Sweden. Francis Louis Palatine was confirmed in the electorate of Cologn; and Cardinal Furstemberg restored to all his rights and benefices. The claims of the Duchess of Orleans upon the Palatinate were referred to the arbitration of France and the Emperor; and in the mean time the Elector Palatine agreed to supply her Highness with an annuity of one hundred thousand florins. The ministers of the Protestant Princes published a formal declaration against the clause relating to religion, and afterwards solemnly protested against the manner in which the negociation had been conducted. Such was the issue of a long and bloody war, which had drained England of her wealth and people, almost entirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals, by encouraging venality and corruption, and entailed upon her the curse of foreign connexions, as well as a national debt,

dept, which was gradually increased to an intolerable burthen. After all the blood and treasure which had been expended, William's ambition and revenge remained unsatisfied. Nevertheless, he reaped the solid advantage of seeing himself firmly established on the English throne; and the confederacy, though not successful in every instance, accomplished their great aim of putting a stop to the encroachments of the French Monarch. They mortified his vanity, they humbled his pride and arrogance, and compelled him to disgorge the acquisitions which, like a robber, he had made in violation of public faith, justice, and humanity. Had the allies been true to one another; had they acted from genuine zeal for the common interest of mankind; and prosecuted with vigour the plan which was originally concerted, Louis would in a few campaigns have been reduced to the most abject state of disgrace, despondence, and submission; for he was destitute of true courage and magnanimity. King William having finished this important transaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidst the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they must have been infallibly beggared.

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§ I. WHEN the King opened the session of Parliament on the third day of December, he told them the war was brought to the end they all proposed, namely, an honourable peace. He gave them to understand there was a considerable debt on account of the fleet and army: that the revenues of the Crown had been anticipated: he expressed his hope, that they would provide for him during his life, in such a manner as would conduce to his own honour and that of the government. He recommended the maintenance of a considerable navy; and gave it as his opinion, that for the present England could not be safe without a standing army. He promised to rectify such corruptions and abuses as might have crept into any part of the administration during the war; and effectually to discourage prophaneness and immorality. Finally, he assured them, that as he had rescued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremest danger, so he should place the glory of his reign in preserving and leaving them entire to latest posterity. To this speech the Commons replied in an address by a compliment of congratulation upon the peace, and an assurance, that they would be ever ready to assist and support his Majesty, who had confirmed them in the quiet possession of their rights and liberties, and by putting an end to their war fully completed the work of their deliverance. Notwithstanding

standing those appearances of good humour, the majority of the House, and indeed of the whole nation were equally alarmed and exasperated at a project for maintaining a standing army, which was countenanced at Court, and even recommended by the King, in his speech to the Parliament. William's genius was altogether military. He could not bear the thoughts of being a King without power. He could not without reluctance dismiss those officers who had given so many proofs of their courage and fidelity. He did not think himself safe upon the naked throne, in a kingdom that swarmed with malcontents, who had so often conspired against his person and government. He dreaded the ambition and known perfidy of the French King, who still retained a powerful army. He foresaw that a reduction of the forces would lessen his importance both at home and abroad: diminish the dependence upon his government; and disperse those foreigners in whose attachment he chiefly confided. He communicated his sentiments on this subject to his confidant, the Earl of Sunderland, who knew by experience the aversion of the people to a standing army; nevertheless, he encouraged him with hope of success, on the supposition that the Commons would see the difference between an army raised by the King's private authority, and a body of veteran troops, maintained by consent of Parliament for the security of the kingdom. This was a distinction to which the people paid no regard. All the jealousy of former Parliaments seemed to be roused by the bare proposal; and this was inflamed by a national prejudice against the Refugees, in whose favour the King had betrayed repeated marks of partial indulgence. They were submissive, tractable, and wholly dependent upon his will and generosity. The Jacobites failed not to cherish the seeds of disaffection, and reproach the Whigs who countenanced this measure. They branded that party with apostacy from their former principles. They observed, that the very

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persons who in the late reigns endeavoured to abridge the prerogative, and deprive the King of that share of power which was absolutely necessary to actuate the machine of government, were now become advocates for maintaining a standing army in time of peace; nay, and impudently avowed, that their complaisance to the Court in this particular was owing to their desire of excluding from all share in the administration a faction disaffected to his Majesty, which might mislead him into more pernicious measures. The majority of those who really entertained Revolution-principles opposed the Court; from apprehensions that a standing army once established would take root, and grow into an habitual maxim of government: that should the people be disarmed, and the sword left in the hands of mercenaries, the liberties of the nation must be entirely at the mercy of him by whom those mercenaries should be commanded. They might overawe elections, dictate to Parliaments, and establish a tyranny, before the people could take any measures for their own protection. They could not help thinking it was possible to form a militia, that with the concurrence of a fleet might effectually protect the kingdom from the dangers of an invasion. They firmly believed, that a militia might be regularly trained to arms, so as to acquire the dexterity of professed soldiers; and they did not doubt they would surpass those hirelings in courage, considering that they would be animated by every concurring motive of interest, sentiment, and affection. Nay, they argued, that Britain, surrounded as it was by a boisterous sea, secured by floating bulwarks, abounding with stout and hardy inhabitants, did not deserve to be free, if her sons could not protect their liberties without the assistance of mercenaries, who were indeed the only slaves of the kingdom. Yet, among the genuine friends of their country, some individuals espoused the opposite maxims. They observed, that the military

tary system of every government in Europe was now altered: that war was become a trade, and discipline a science not to be learned but by those who made it their sole profession: that, therefore, while France kept up a large standing army of veterans, ready to embark on the opposite coast, it would be absolutely necessary for the safety of the nation, to maintain a small standing force, which should be voted in Parliament from year to year. They might have suggested another expedient, which in a few years would have produced a militia of disciplined men. Had the soldiers of this small standing army been enlisted for a term of years, at the expiration of which they might have claimed their discharge, volunteers would have offered themselves from all parts of the kingdom, even from the desire of learning the use and exercise of arms, the ambition of being concerned in scenes of actual service, and the chagrin of little disappointments or temporary disgusts, which yet would not have impelled them to inlist as soldiers on the common terms of perpetual slavery. In consequence of such a succession, the whole kingdom would soon have been stocked with members of a disciplined militia, equal, if not superior, to any army of professed soldiers. But this scheme would have defeated the purpose of the Government, which was more afraid of domestick foes than of foreign enemies; and industriously avoided every plan of this nature, which could contribute to render the malcontents of the nation more formidable. CHAP. VI. 1697.

§ Before we proceed to the transactions of Parliament in this session, it may not be amiss to sketch the out-lines of the ministry, as it stood at this juncture. The King's affection for the Earl of Portland had begun to abate, in proportion as his esteem for Sunderland increased, together with his consideration for Mrs. Villiers, who had been distinguished by some particular marks of his Majesty's favour. These two favourites are said to have supplanted

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planted Portland, whose place in the King's bosom was now filled by Van Keppel, a gentleman of Guelderland, who had first served his Majesty as a page, and afterwards acted as private Secretary. The Earl of Portland growing troublesome, from his jealousy of this rival, the King resolved to send him into honourable exile, in quality of an Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of France; and Trumball, his friend and creature, was dismissed from the office of Secretary, which the King conferred upon Vernon, a plodding man of business, who had acted as Under-Secretary to the Duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman rivalled the Earl of Sunderland, in his credit at the Council-board, and was supported by Somers, Lord-Chancellor of England, by Russel, now Earl of Orford, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Somers was an upright judge, a plausible statesman, a consummate courtier, affable, mild, and insinuating. Orford appears to have been rough, turbulent, factious, and shallow. Montagu had distinguished himself early by his poetical genius; but he soon converted his attention to the cultivation of more solid talents. He rendered himself remarkable for his eloquence, discernment, and knowledge of the English constitution. To a delicate taste, he united an eager appetite for political studies. The first catered for the enjoyments of fancy; the other was subservient to his ambition. He, at the same time, was the distinguished encourager of the liberal arts, and the professed patron of projectors. In his private deportment he was liberal, easy, and entertaining: as a statesman, bold, dogmatical, and aspiring.

§ III. The terrors of a standing army had produced such an universal ferment in the nation, that the dependents of the Court in the House of Commons durst not openly oppose the reduction of the forces; but they shifted the battery, and employed all their address in persuading the House to agree, that

that a very small number should be retained. When the Commons voted, That all the forces raised since the year one thousand six hundred and eighty should be disbanded, the Courtiers desired the vote might be re-committed, on pretence that it restrained the King to the old Tory regiments, on whose fidelity he could not rely. This motion, however, was over-ruled by a considerable majority. Then they proposed an amendment, which was rejected, and afterwards moved, That the sum of five hundred thousand pounds per annum should be granted for the maintenance of guards and garrisons. This provision would have maintained a very considerable number; but they were again disappointed, and fain to embrace a composition with the other party, by which three hundred and fifty thousand pounds were allotted for the maintenance of ten thousand men; and they afterwards obtained an addition of three thousand marines. The King was extremely mortified at these resolutions of the Commons: and even declared to his particular friends, that he would never have intermeddled with the affairs of the nation, had he foreseen they would make such returns of ingratitude and distrust. His displeasure was aggravated by the resentment expressed against Sunderland, who was supposed to have advised the unpopular measure of retaining a standing army. This nobleman, dreading the vengeance of the Commons, resolved to avert the fury of the impending storm, by resigning his office, and retiring from Court, contrary to the intreaties of his friends, and the earnest desire of his Majesty.

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§ IV. The House of Commons, in order to sweeten the unpalatable cup they had presented to the King, voted the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum for the support of the civil list, distinct from all other services. Then they passed an act prohibiting the currency of silver hammered coin, including a clause for making out new

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Exchequer-bills, in lieu of those which were or might be filled up with endorsements; they framed another to open the correspondence with France, under a variety of provisos: a third for continuing the imprisonment of certain persons who had been concerned in the late conspiracy: a fourth granted further time for administering oaths with respect to tallies and orders in the Exchequer and Bank of England. These Bills having received the Royal assent, they resolved to grant a supply, which, together with the funds already settled for that purpose, should be sufficient to answer and cancel all Exchequer-bills, to the amount of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds. Another supply was voted for the payment and reduction of the army, including half-pay to such commission-officers as were natural-born subjects of England. They granted one million four hundred thousand pounds, to make good deficiencies. They resolved, That the sum of two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and two pounds was necessary to pay off arrears, subsistence, contingencies, general-officers, guards and garrisons; of which sum eight hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and two pounds remained in the hands of the paymaster. Then they took into consideration the subsidies due to foreign powers, and the sums owing to contractors for bread and forage. Examining further the debts of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred and ninety-two thousand seven hundred and forty-two pounds. That of the Ordnance was equal to two hundred and four thousand one hundred and fifty-seven pounds. The transport debt contracted for the reduction of Ireland, and other services, did not fall short of four hundred and sixty-six thousand four hundred and ninety-three pounds; and they owed nine-and-forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds, for quartering and cloathing the army, which

which had been raised by one act of Parliament in the year 1677, and disbanded by another in the year 1679. As this enormous load of debt could not be discharged at once, the Commons passed a number of votes for raising sums of money, by which it was considerably lightened; and settled the funds for those purposes by the continuation of the land-tax, and other impositions. With respect to the civil list, it was raised by a new subsidy of tonnage and poundage, the hereditary and temporary excise, a weekly portion from the revenue of the post-office, the first-fruits and tenths of the clergy, the fines in the alienation-office, and post-fines, the revenue of the wine-licence, money arising by sheriffs, proffers, and compositions in the Exchequer, and seizures, the income of the Duchy of Cornwall, the rents of all other Crown-lands in England or Wales, and the duty of four and a half per cent. upon specie from Barbadoes and the Leeward-islands. The bill imported, That the overplus arising from these funds should be accounted for to Parliament. Six hundred thousand pounds of this money was allotted for the purposes of the civil list; the rest was granted for the jointure of fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be paid to Queen Mary d'Esté, according to the stipulation at Ryswick; and to maintain a Court for the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne of Denmark, now in the ninth year of his age; but the jointure was never paid; nor would the King allow above fifteen thousand pounds per annum for the use of the Duke of Gloucester, to whom Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was appointed preceptor.

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§ V. The Commons having discussed the Ways and Means for raising the supplies of the ensuing year, which rose almost to five millions, took cognizance of some fraudulent endorsements of Exchequer Bills, a species of forgery which had been practised by a confederacy, consisting of Charles Duncomb,

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Duncomb, Receiver-General of the Excise, Bartholomew Burton, who possessed a place in that branch of the revenue, John Knight, Treasurer of the Customs, and Reginald Marriot, a Deputy-Teller of the Exchequer. This last became evidence, and the proof turning out very strong and full, the House resolved to make examples of the delinquents. Duncomb and Knight, both Members of Parliament, were expelled, and committed to the Tower: Burton was sent to Newgate: and bills of pains and penalties were ordered to be brought in against them. The first, levelled at Duncomb, passed the Lower House, though not without great opposition: but was rejected in the House of Lords by the majority of one voice. Duncomb, who was extremely rich, is said to have paid dear for his escape. The other two bills met with the same fate. The Peers discharged Duncomb from his confinement: but he was recommitted by the Commons, and remained in custody till the end of the Session. While the Commons were employed on Ways and Means, some of the members in the opposition proposed, that one fourth part of the money arising from improper grants of the Crown should be appropriated to the service of the publick, but this was a very unpalatable expedient, as it affected not only the Whigs of King William's reign, but also the Tories who had been gratified by Charles II. and his brother. A great number of petitions were presented against this measure, and so many difficulties raised, that both parties agreed to lay it aside. In the course of this inquiry, they discovered that one Railton held a grant in trust for Mr. Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer. A motion was immediately made that he should withdraw; but passed in the negative by a great majority. Far from prosecuting this minister, the House voted it was their opinion, That Mr. Montagu, for his good services to the Government, did deserve his Majesty's favour.

Burnet. Kennet. State Tracts. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Tindal. Ralph. Voltaire.

§ VI.

§ VI. This extraordinary vote was a sure presage of success in the execution of a scheme which Montagu had concerted against the East-India company. They had been sounded about advancing a sum of money for the publick service, by way of loan in consideration of a Parliamentary settlement; and they offered to raise seven hundred thousand pounds on that condition: but before they formed this resolution, another body of Merchants, under the auspices of Montagu, offered to lend two millions at eight per cent. provided they might be gratified with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East-Indies. This proposal was very well received by the majority in the House of Commons. A bill for this purpose was brought in, with additional clauses of regulation. A petition was presented by the old company, representing their rights and claims under so many royal charters; the regard due to the property of above a thousand families interested in the stock: as also to the Company's property in India, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds of yearly revenue. They alleged they had expended a million in fortifications: that during the war they had lost twelve great ships, worth fifteen hundred thousand pounds: that since the last subscription they had contributed two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds to the customs, with above eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes: that they had furnished six thousand barrels of gunpowder on a very pressing occasion; and eighty thousand pounds for the circulation of Exchequer-bills, at a very critical juncture, by desire of the Lords of the Treasury, who owned that their compliance was a very important service to the government. No regard being paid to their remonstrances, they undertook to raise the loan of two millions, and immediately subscribed two hundred thousand pounds as the first payment. The two proposals being compared and considered by the House, the majority declared for the bill, which

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which was passed, and sent up to the House of Lords. There the old company delivered another petition, and was heard by counsel; nevertheless, the bill made its way though not without opposition, and a formal protestation by one-and-twenty Lords, who thought it was a hardship upon the present company; and doubted whether the separate trade allowed in the bill, concurrent with a joint stock, might not prove such an inconsistency as would discourage the subscription. This act, by which the old company was dissolved, in a great measure blasted the reputation of the Whigs, which had for some time been on the decline with the people. They had stood up as advocates for a standing army; they now unjustly superseded the East-India Company; they were accused of having robbed the public by embezzling the national treasure, and amassing wealth by usurious contracts, at the expence of their fellow-subjects, groaning under the most oppressive burthens. Certain it is, they were at this period the most mercenary and corrupt undertakers that ever had been employed by any king or administration since the first establishment of the English monarchy.

§. VII. The commons now transferred their attention to certain objects in which the people of Ireland were interested. Colonel Michelborne, who had been joint Governor of Londonderry with Dr. Walker, during the siege of that place, petitioned the House in behalf of himself, his officers, and soldiers, to whom a considerable sum of money was due for subsistence; and the city itself implored the mediation of the Commons with his Majesty, that its services and sufferings might be taken into consideration. The House having examined the allegations contained in both petitions, presented an address to the King, recommending the citizens of Londonderry to his Majesty's favour: that they might no longer remain a ruinous spectacle to all, a

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scorn to their enemies, and a discouragement to well-affected subjects: they likewise declared, that the Governor and garrison did deserve some special marks of royal favour, for a lasting monument to posterity. To this address the King replied, that he would consider them according to the desire of the Commons. William Molineux, a gentleman of Dublin, having published a book to prove that the kingdom of Ireland was independent of the Parliament of England, the House appointed a committee to inquire into the cause and nature of this performance. An address was voted to the King, desiring he would give directions for the discovery and punishment of the author. Upon the report of the committee, the Commons in a body presented an address to his Majesty, representing the dangerous attempts which had been lately made by some of his subjects in Ireland, to shake off their subjection and dependence upon England: attempts which appeared not only from the bold and pernicious assertions contained in a book lately published, but more fully and authentically by some votes and proceedings of the Commons in Ireland. These had, during their last session, transmitted an act for the better security of his Majesty's person and government, whereby an English act of Parliament was pretended to be re-enacted, with alterations obligatory on the courts of justice and the great seal of England. The English Commons, therefore, besought his Majesty to give effectual orders for preventing any such encroachments for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what was past, by punishing those who had been guilty thereof: that he would take care to see the laws which direct and restrain the Parliament of Ireland punctually observed, and discourage every thing which might have a tendency to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England. This remonstrance was graciously received, and the King promised to comply with their request.

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§ VIII.

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§ VIII. The jealousy which the Commons entertained of the government in Ireland, animated them to take other measures, that ascertained the subjection of that kingdom. Understanding that the Irish had established divers woollen manufactories, they, in another address, intreated his Majesty to take measures for discouraging the woollen manufactories in Ireland, as they interfered with those of England, and promote the linen manufacture, which would be profitable to both nations. At the same time, receiving information that the French had seduced some English manufacturers, and set up a great work for cloth-making in Picardy, they brought in a bill for explaining and better executing former acts for preventing the exportation of wool, fullers-earth, and scouring clay; and this was immediately passed into a law. A petition being presented to the House, by the lustring company, against certain merchants who had smuggled alamodes and lustrings from France, even during the war, the committee of trade was directed to inquire into the allegations; and all the secrets of this traffick were detected. Upon the report the House resolved, that the manufactures of alamodes and lustrings set up in England had been beneficial to the kingdom; that there had been a destructive and illegal trade carried on during the war, for importing these commodities, by which the King had been defrauded of his customs, and the English manufacturers greatly discouraged: that, by the smuggling vessels employed in this trade, intelligence had been carried into France during the war, and the enemies of the government conveyed from justice. Stephen Seignoret, Rhene, Baudoin, John Goodet, Nicholas Santini, Peter de Hearse, John Pierce, John Dumaitre, and David Barreau, were impeached at the bar of the House of Lords; and pleading guilty, the Lords imposed fines upon them, according to their respective circumstances. They were in the mean time committed to Newgate,

gate, until those fines should be paid; and the Commons addressed the King, that the money might be appropriated to the maintenance of Greenwich-hospital. The House having taken cognizance of this affair, and made some new regulations in the prosecution of the African trade, presented a solemn address to the King, representing the general degeneracy and corruption of the age, and beseeching his Majesty to command all his judges, justices, and magistrates, to put the laws in execution against profaneness and immorality. The King professed himself extremely well pleased with this remonstrance, promised to give immediate directions for a reformation, and expressed his desire that some more effectual provision might be made for suppressing impious books, containing doctrines against the Trinity; doctrines which abounded at this period, and took their origin from the licentiousness and profligacy of the times. CHAP. VI. 1698.

§ IX. In the midst of such immorality, Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan for propagating the gospel in foreign countries. Missionaries, catechisms, liturgies, and other books for the instruction of ignorant people, were sent to the English colonies in America. This laudable design was supported by voluntary contribution; and the bill having been brought into the House of Commons, for the better discovery of estates given to superstitious uses, Dr. Bray presented a petition, praying, that some part of these estates might be set apart for the propagation of the reformed religion in Maryland, Virginia, and the Leeward-Islands. About this period, a society for the reformation of manners was formed under the King's countenance and encouragement. Considerable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of publick worship, and administer the sacrament every Sunday. The members of this society resolved to inform the magistrates of all

BOOK I. all vice and immorality that should fall under their cognizance; and with that part of the fines allowed by law to the informer constitute a fund of charity. The business of the session being terminated, the King, on the third day of July, prorogued the Parliament, after having thanked them, in a short speech, for the many testimonies of their affection he had received; and in two days after the prorogation it was dissolved.*

1698.

§ X. In the month of January, the Earl of Portland had set out on his embassy to France, where he was received with very particular marks of distinction. He made a publick entry into Paris with such magnificence, as is said to have astonished the French nation. He interceded for the Protestants in that kingdom, against whom the persecution had been renewed with redoubled violence; he proposed that King James should be removed to Avignon, in which case his master would supply him with an honourable pension: but his remonstrances on both subjects proved ineffectual. Louis, however, in a private conference with him at Marli, is supposed to have communicated his project of the partition-treaty. The Earl of Portland, at his return to England, finding himself totally eclipsed in the King's favour, by Keppel, now created Earl of Albemarle, resigned his employments in disgust; nor could the King's solicitations prevail upon him to resume any office in the household; though he promised to serve his Majesty in any other shape, and was soon employed to negociate the treaty of partition. If this nobleman miscarried in the purposes of his last embassy at the Court of Versailles, the agents of France were equally unsuccessful in their endeavours to retrieve their commerce with England, which the war

* On the fifth day of January, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, through the carelessness of a laundress, the whole body of the palace, together with the new gallery, council-chamber, and several adjoining apartments, were entirely consumed; but the banquetting-house was not affected.

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had interrupted. Their Commissary, sent over to London with powers to regulate the trade between the two nations, met with insuperable difficulties. The Parliament had burdened the French commodities with heavy duties which were already appropriated to different uses; and the channel of trade was in many respects entirely altered. The English merchants supplied the nation with wines from Italy, Spain, and Portugal; with linen from Holland and Silesia; and manufactures of paper, hats, stuffs, and silks, had been set up and successfully carried on in England, by the French refugees. CHAP. VI. 1698.

§ XI. By this time a ferment had been raised in Scotland, by the opposition and discouragements their new company had sustained. They had employed agents in England, Holland, and Hamburgh, to receive subscriptions. The adventurers in England were intimidated by the measures which had been taken in Parliament against the Scottish company. The Dutch East-India company took the alarm, and exerted all their interest to prevent their countrymen from subscribing; and the King permitted his resident at Hamburgh to present a memorial against the Scottish company to the senate of that city. The Parliament of Scotland being assembled by the Earl of Marchmont as King's Commissioner, the company presented it with a remonstrance, containing a detail of their grievances, arising from the conduct of the English House of Commons, as well as from the memorial presented by the King's minister at Hamburgh, in which he actually disowned the act of Parliament and letters patent which had passed in their favour, and threatened the inhabitants of that city with his Majesty's resentment, in case they should join the Scots in their undertaking. They represented, that such instances of interposition had put a stop to the subscriptions in England and Hamburgh, hurt the credit of the company, discouraged the adventurers, and threatened the entire ruin of a

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design, in which all the most considerable families of the nation were deeply engaged. The Parliament having taken their case into consideration, sent an address to his Majesty, representing the hardships to which the company had been exposed, explaining how far the nation in general was concerned in the design, and intreating that he would take such measures as might effectually vindicate the undoubted rights and privileges of the company. This address was seconded by a petition from the company itself, praying that his Majesty would give some intimation to the senate of Hamburgh, permitting the inhabitants of that city to renew the subscriptions they had withdrawn: that, as a gracious mark of his royal favour to the company, he would bestow upon them two small frigates, then lying useless in the harbour of Burntisland; and that, in consideration of the obstructions they had encountered, he would continue their privileges and immunities for such longer time as should seem reasonable to his Majesty. Though the Commissioner was wholly devoted to the King, who had actually resolved to ruin this company, he could not appease the resentment of the nation; and the heats in Parliament became so violent, that he was obliged to adjourn it to the fifth day of November. In this interval, the directors of the company, understanding from their agent at Hamburgh, that the address of the Parliament, and their own petition, had produced no effect in their favour; they wrote a letter of complaint to the Lord Seafield, Secretary of State; observing, that they had received repeated assurances of the King's having given orders to his resident at Hamburgh touching their memorial; and intreating the interposition of his Lordship, that justice might be done to the company. The Secretary, in his answer, promised to take the first convenient opportunity of representing the affair to his Majesty; but he said this could not be immediately expected, as the King

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was much engaged in the affairs of the English Parliament. This declaration the directors considered, as it really was, a mere evasion, which helped to alienate the minds of that people from the King's person and government. CHAP. VI. 1698.

§ XII. King William at this time revolved in his own mind a project of far greater consequence to the interest of Europe; namely, that of settling the succession to the throne of Spain, which in a little time would be vacated by the death of Charles II. whose constitution was already exhausted. He had been lately reduced to extremity, and his situation was no sooner known in France, than Louis detached a squadron towards Cadiz, with orders to intercept the Plate-fleet, in case the King of Spain should die before its arrival. William sent another fleet to protect the galleons; but it arrived too late for that service, and the nation loudly exclaimed against the tardiness of the equipment. His Catholick Majesty recovered from his disorder, contrary to the expectation of his people: but continued in such an enfeebled and precarious state of health, that a relapse was every moment apprehended. In the latter end of July, King William embarked for Holland, on pretence of enjoying a recess from business, which was necessary to his constitution. He was glad of an opportunity to withdraw himself for sometime from a kingdom in which he had been exposed to such opposition and chagrin. But the real motive of his voyage was a design of treating with the French King, remote from the observation of those who might have penetrated into the nature of his negociation. He had appointed a Regency to govern the kingdom in his absence, and, as one of the number, nominated the Earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been constituted Governor of the Duke of Gloucester. At his Majesty's departure, sealed orders were left with the ministry, directing, that sixteen thousand men should be

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be retained in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the Commons, by which the standing army was limited to ten thousand. He alleged, that the apprehension of troubles which might arise at the death of King Charles, induced him to transgress this limitation; and he hoped that the new Parliament would be more favourable. His enemies, however, made a fresh handle of this step, to depreciate his character in the eyes of the people.

§ XIII. Having assisted at the assembly of the States-General, and given audience to divers Ambassadors at the Hague, he repaired to his house at Loo, attended by the Earls of Essex, Portland, and Selkirk. There he was visited by Count Tallard, the French minister, who had instructions to negociate the treaty concerning the Spanish succession. The Earl of Portland, by his Majesty's order, had communicated to Secretary Vernon the principal conditions which the French King proposed: he himself wrote a letter to Lord Chancellor Somers, desiring his advice with regard to the propositions, and full powers under the great seal, with blanks to be filled up occasionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with Count Tallard. At the same time, he strictly enjoined secrecy. The purport of Portland's letter was imparted to the Duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Montagu, who consulted with the Chancellor and Vernon upon the subject; and the Chancellor wrote an answer to the King, as the issue of their joint deliberation: but, before it reached his Majesty, the first treaty of partition was signed by the Earl of Portland and Sir Joseph Williamson. The contracting powers agreed, That, in case the King of Spain should die without issue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spanish monarchy, and situated on the coast of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, all places on the French side of the Pyrennees, or the other mountains

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of Navarre, Alva, or Biscay, on the other side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships, vessels, and stores, should devolve upon the Dauphin, in consideration of his right to the Crown of Spain, which, with all its other dependencies, should descend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, under the guardianship of his father: That the duchy of Milan should be settled on the Emperor's second son, the Archduke Charles: That this treaty should be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria by the King of England and the States-General: That if either should refuse to agree to this partition, his proportion should remain in sequestration, until the dispute could be accommodated: That in case the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should die before his father, then the Elector and his other heirs should succeed him in those dominions: and, should the Archduke reject the duchy of Milan, they agreed that it should be sequestered, and governed by the Prince of Vaudemont. It may be necessary to observe, that Philip IV. father to the present King of Spain, had settled his Crown by will on the Emperor's children: that the Dauphin was son to Maria-Theresa, daughter of the same monarch, whose right to the succession Louis had renounced in the most solemn manner; as for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, he was grandson to a daughter of Spain. This treaty of partition was one of the most impudent schemes of encroachment that tyranny and injustice ever planned. Louis, who had made a practice of sacrificing all ties of honour and good faith to the interest of his pride, vanity, and ambition, foresaw that he should never be able to accomplish his designs upon the Crown of Spain, while William was left at liberty to form another confederacy against them. He therefore resolved to amuse him with a treaty, in which he should seem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. He knew that William was too much of a politician to be restricted by

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notions of private justice; and that he would make no scruple to infringe the laws of particular countries, or even the rights of a single nation, when the balance of power was at stake. He judged right in this particular. The King of England lent a willing ear to his proposals, and engaged in a plan for dismembering a kingdom, in despite of the natives, and in violation of every law human or divine.

§ XIV. While the French King cajoled William with this negociation, the Marquis d'Harcourt, his Ambassador to Spain, was engaged in a game of a different nature at Madrid. The Queen of Spain, suspecting the designs of France, exerted all her interest in behalf of the King of the Romans, to whom she was nearly related. She new-modelled the council, bestowed the government of Milan on Prince Vaudemont, and established the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt as Viceroy of Catalonia. Notwithstanding all her efforts, she could not prevent the French minister from acquiring some influence in the Spanish councils. He was instructed to procure the succession of the Crown for one of the Dauphin's sons, or at least to hinder it from devolving upon the Emperor's children. With a view to give weight to his negociations, the French King ordered an army of sixty thousand men to advance towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre, while a great number of ships and gallies cruised along the coast and entered the harbours of Spain. Harcourt immediately began to form his party; he represented that Philip IV. had no power to dispose of his Crown against the laws of nature and the constitution of the realm: that, by the order of succession, the Crown ought to descend to the children of his daughter, in preference to more distant relations: that, if the Spaniards would declare in favour of the Dauphin's second son, the Duke of Anjou, they might train him up

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in the manners and customs of their country. When he found them averse to this proposal, he assured them his master would approve of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, rather than consent to the succession's devolving upon a son of the Emperor. Nay, he hinted, that if they would choose a sovereign among themselves, they might depend upon the protection of his most Christian Majesty, who had no other view than that of preventing the House of Austria from becoming too formidable to the liberties of Europe. The Queen of Spain, having discovered the intrigues of this minister, conveyed the King to Toledo, on pretence that the air of Madrid was prejudicial to his health. Harcourt immediately took the alarm. He supposed her intention was to prevail upon her husband, in his solitude, to confirm the last will of his father; and his doubts were all removed, when he understood that the Count de Harrach, the Imperial Ambassador, had privately repaired to Toledo. He forthwith took the same road, pretending to have received a memorial from his master, with a positive order to deliver it into the King's own hand. He was given to understand, that the management of foreign affairs had been left to the care of Cardinal Gordùba at Madrid, and that the King's health would not permit him to attend business. The purport of the memorial was, an offer of French force to assist in raising the siege of Ceuta in Barbary, which the Moors had lately undertaken: but this offer was civilly declined. Harcourt, not yet discouraged, redoubled his efforts at Madrid, and found means to engage Cardinal Portocarrero in the interests of his master. In the mean time Louis concluded an alliance with Sweden, under the pretext of preserving and securing the common peace, by such means as should be adjudged most proper and convenient. During these transactions,

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King William was not wanting in his endeavours to terminate the war in Hungary, which had raged fifteen years without intermission. About the middle of August, Lord Paget and Mr. Colliers, Ambassadors from England and Holland, arrived in the Turkish camp near Belgrade; and a conference being opened under their mediation, the peace of Carlowitz was signed on the twenty-sixth day of January. By this treaty, the Emperor remained in possession of all his conquests: Caminieck was restored to the Poles: all the Morea, with several fortresses in Dalmatia, were ceded to the Venetians; and the Czar of Muscovy retained Azoph during a truce of two years: so that the Turks, by this pacification, lost great part of their European dominions. The Cardinal Primate of Poland, who had strenuously adhered to the Prince of Conti, was prevailed upon to acknowledge Augustus: and the commotions in Lithuania being appeased, peace was established through all Christendom.

§ XV. In the beginning of December the King arrived in England, where a new Parliament had been chosen, and prorogued on account of his Majesty's absence, which was prolonged by contrary winds and tempestuous weather. His ministry had been at very little pains to influence the elections, which generally fell upon men of Revolution-principles, though they do not seem to have been much devoted to the person of their sovereign: yet their choice of Sir Thomas Lyttelton for Speaker seemed to presage a session favourable to the ministry. The two Houses being convened on the sixth day of December, the King in his speech observed, That the safety, honour, and happiness of the kingdom would in a great measure depend upon the strength which they should think proper to maintain by sea and land. He desired they would make some further progress in discharging the national debt;

debt; contrive effectual expedients for employing the poor; pass good bills for the advancement of trade, and the discouragement of profaneness: and act with unanimity and dispatch. The Commons of this new Parliament were so irritated at the King's presuming to maintain a greater number of troops than their predecessors had voted, that they resolved he should feel the weight of their displeasure. They omitted the common compliment of an address: they resolved that all the forces of England, in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded; and also those in Ireland, exceeding twelve thousand; and that those retained should be his Majesty's natural-born subjects. A bill was brought in on these resolutions, and prosecuted with peculiar eagerness, to the unspeakable mortification of King William, who was not only extremely sensible of the affront, but also particularly chagrined to see himself disabled from maintaining his Dutch guards, and the regiments of French refugees, to which he was uncommonly attached. Before the meeting of the Parliament, the ministry gave him to understand, that they should be able to procure a vote for ten or twelve thousand; but they would not undertake for a greater number. He professed himself dissatisfied with the proposal, observing, that they might as well disband the whole as leave so few. The ministers would not run the risque of losing all their credit, by proposing a greater number; and, having received no directions on this subject, sat silent when it was debated in the House of Commons.

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§ XVI. Such was the indignation of William, kindled by this conduct of his ministry and his parliament, that he threatened to abandon the Government; and had actually penned a speech to be pronounced to both Houses on that occasion: but he was diverted from this purpose by his ministry and confidents, and resolved to pass the bill by which he

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he had been so much offended. Accordingly, when it was ready for the royal assent, he went to the House of Peers, where having sent for the Commons, he told them, that although he might think himself unkindly used, in being deprived of his guards, which had constantly attended him in all his actions: yet, as he believed nothing could be more fatal to the nation than any distrust or jealousy between him and his Parliament, he was come to pass the bill, according to their desire. At the same time, for his own justification, and in discharge of the trust reposed in him, he declared, that in his own judgment the nation was left too much exposed; and that it was incumbent upon them to provide such a strength as might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. They thanked him, in an address, for this undeniable proof of his readiness to comply with the desires of his Parliament. They assured him, he should never have reason to think the Commons were undutiful or unkind: for they would, on all occasions, stand by, and assist him in the preservation of his sacred person, and in the support of his Government, against all his enemies whatsoever. The Lords presented an address to the same effect; and the King assured both Houses, he entertained no doubts of their loyalty and affection. He forthwith issued orders for reducing the army to the number of seven thousand men, to be maintained in England under the name of guards and garrisons; and, hoping the hearts of the Commons were now mollified, he made another effort in favour of his Dutch guards, whom he could not dismiss without the most sensible regret. Lord Ranelagh was sent with a written message to the Commons, giving them to understand, that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards who came with him into England, and that they should embark immediately, unless out of consideration to him, the House should be disposed

posed to find a way for continuing them longer in the service; a favour which his Majesty would take very kindly. The Commons, instead of complying with his inclination, presented an address, in which they professed unspeakable grief, that he should propose any thing to which they could not consent with due regard to the constitution, which he had come over to restore, and so often hazarded his royal person to preserve. They reminded him of the declaration, in which he had promised that all the foreign forces should be sent out of the kingdom. They observed, that nothing conduced more to the happiness and welfare of the nation, than an entire confidence between the King and people, which could no way be so firmly established as by entrusting his sacred person with his own subjects, who had so eminently signalized themselves during the late long and expensive war. They received a soothing answer to this address, but remained firm to their purpose, in which the King was fain to acquiesce; and the Dutch guards were transported to Holland. At a time when they declared themselves so well pleased with their Deliverer, such an opposition, in an affair of very little consequence, savoured more of clownish obstinacy than of patriotism. In the midst of all their professions of regard, they entertained a national prejudice against himself, and all the foreigners in his service. Even in the House of Commons his person was treated with great disrespect in virulent insinuations. They suggested that he neither loved nor trusted the English nation: that he treated the natives with the most disagreeable reserve; and chose his confidents from the number of strangers that surrounded him: that, after every session of Parliament, he retired from the kingdom, to enjoy an indolent and inglorious privacy with a few favourites. These suggestions were certainly true. He was extremely disgusted with the English, whom he considered

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BOOK I. considered as malicious, ignorant, and ungrateful, and he took no pains to disguise his sentiments.

1698. § XVII. The Commons having effected a dissolution of the army, voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportionable fleet, for the security of the kingdom: they granted one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand fifteen pounds, for the services of the year, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensions, and offices. A great number of priests and Roman Catholicks, who had been frighted away by the Revolution, were now encouraged, by the treaty of Ryswick, to return, and appeared in all publick places of London and Westminster, with remarkable effrontery. The enemies of the government whispered about, that the treaty contained a secret article in favour of those who professed that religion; and some did not even scruple to insinuate, that William was a papist in his heart. The Commons, alarmed at the number and insolence of those religionists, desired the King, in an address, to remove by proclamation all Papists and Nonjurors from the city of London and parts adjacent, and put the laws in execution against them, that the wicked designs they were always hatching might be effectually disappointed. The King gratified them in their request of a proclamation, which was not much regarded: but a remarkable law was enacted against Papists in the course of the ensuing session. The old East-India Company, about this period, petitioned the Lower House, to make some provision that their corporation might subsist for the residue of the term of twenty-one years, granted by his Majesty's charter; that the payment of the five pounds per cent. by the late act for settling the trade to the East-Indies, might be settled and adjusted in such a manner, as not to remain a burthen on the petitioners; and that such further considerations might be had for their relief, and for the preservation of

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the East-India trade, as should be thought reasonable. A bill was brought in upon the subject of this petition; but rejected at the second reading. Discontents had risen to such a height, that some members began to assert, they were not bound to maintain the votes and credit of the former Parliament; and upon this maxim, would have contributed their interest towards a repeal of the act made in favour of the new company; but such a scheme was of too dangerous consequence to the publick credit, to be carried into execution. CHAP. VI. 1698. Burnet. Kennet. Lamberty. State Tracts. Tindal. Ralph.

§ XVIII. That spirit of peevishness which could not be gratified with this sacrifice, produced an inquiry into the management of naval affairs, which was aimed at the Earl of Orford, a nobleman whose power gave umbrage, and whose wealth excited envy. He officiated both as Treasurer of the Navy, and Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, and seemed to have forgot the sphere from which he had risen to title and office. The Commons drew up an address, complaining of some unimportant articles of mismanagement in the conduct of the Navy; and the Earl was wise enough to avoid further prosecution, by resigning his employments. On the fourth day of May the King closed the session, with a short speech, hinting dissatisfaction at their having neglected to consider some points which he had recommended to their attention; and the Parliament was prorogued to the first of June*. In a little time after this prorogation, his Majesty appointed a An. 1699.

* About the latter end of March, the Earl of Warwick, and Lord Mohun, were tried by the peers in Westminster-hall for the murder of Captain Richard Coote, who had been killed in a midnight combat of three on each side. Warwick was found guilty of manslaughter, and Mohun acquitted.

Villiers, Earl of Jersey, who had been sent ambassador to France, was appointed Secretary of State, in the room of the Duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman was created Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Manchester was sent Ambassador extraordinary to France; the Earl of Pembroke was declared Lord President of the Council; and Lord Viscount Lonsdale Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Regency;

BOOK I. Regency*; and on the second day of June embarked for Holland.

1699. § XIX. In Ireland nothing of moment was transacted. The Parliament of that kingdom passed an act for raising one hundred and twenty thousand pounds on lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to defray the expence of maintaining twelve thousand men, who had been voted by the Commons of England, when the assembly was prorogued. A new commission afterwards arrived at Dublin, constituting the Duke of Bolton, the Earls of Berkeley and Galway, Lords-Justices of Ireland. The clamour in Scotland increased against the ministry, who had disowned their company, and in a great measure defeated the design from which they had promised themselves such heaps of treasure. Notwithstanding the discouragements to which their company had been exposed, they fitted out two of four large ships which had been built at Hamburgh for their service. These were laden with a cargo for traffick, with some artillery and military stores; and the adventurers embarking, to the number of twelve hundred, they sailed from the Frith of Edinburgh, with some tenders, on the seventeenth day of July in the preceding year. At Madeira they took in a supply of wine, and then steered to Crab-Island in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas, lying between Santa-Cruz aud Porto-Rico. Their design was to take possession of this little island; but, when they entered the road, they saw a large tent pitched upon the strand, and the Danish colours flying. Finding themselves anticipated in this quarter, they directed their course to the coast of Darien, where they treated with the natives for the establishment of their colony, and taking possession of the ground, to which they gave

* Consisting of the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord-President, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord-Steward of the Household, the Earl of Bridgewater, First Commissioners of the Admiralty, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Jersey, and Mr. Montagu.

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the name of Caledonia, began to execute their plan of erecting a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh, by the direction of their Council, consisting of Paterson the projector, and six other directors. They had no sooner completed their settlement, than they wrote a letter to the King, containing a detail of their proceedings. They pretended they had received undoubted intelligence that the French intended to make a settlement on that coast; and that their colony would be the means of preventing the evil consequences which might arise to his Majesty's kingdom and dominions from the execution of such a scheme. They acknowledged his goodness in granting those privileges by which their company was established; they implored the continuance of his royal favour and protection, as they had punctually adhered to the conditions of the act of Parliament, and the patent they had obtained. CHAP. VI. 1699.

§ XX. By this time, however, the King was resolved to crush them effectually. He understood that the greater part of their provisions had been consumed before they set sail from Scotland, and foresaw that they must be reduced to a starving condition, if not supplied from the English colonies. That they might be debarred of all such assistance, he sent orders to the Governors of Jamaica, and the other English settlements in America, to issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, all his Majesty's subjects, from holding any correspondence with the Scottish colony, or assisting it in any shape, with arms, ammunition, or provision: on pretence that they had not communicated their design to his Majesty, but had peopled Darien, in violation of the peace subsisting between him and his Allies. Their colony was, doubtless, a very dangerous encroachment upon the Spaniards, as it would have commanded the passage between Porto-Bello and Panama, and divided the Spanish empire in America. The French King complained of the

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invasion, and offered to supply the Court of Madrid with a fleet to dislodge the interlopers. Colonna, Marquis de Canales, the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of London, presented a memorial to King William, remonstrating against the settlement of this colony, as a mark of disregard, and a breach of the alliance between the two Crowns; and declaring, that his master would take proper measures against such hostilities. The Scots affirmed, that the natives of Darien were a free people, whom the Spaniards had in vain attempted to subdue: that, therefore, they had an original and incontrovertible right to dispose of their own lands, part of which the Company had purchased for a valuable consideration. But there was another cause more powerful than the remonstrances of the Spanish Court, to which this colony fell a sacrifice; and that was, the jealousy of the English traders and planters. Darien was said to be a country abounding with gold, which would in a little time enrich the adventurers. The Scots were known to be an enterprising and pertinacious people; and their harbour near Golden-Island was already declared a free port. The English apprehended that their planters would be allured into this new colony; by the double prospect of finding gold, and plundering the Spaniards: that the buccaneers in particular would choose it as their chief residence: that the plantations of England would be deserted: that Darien would become another Algiers; and that the settlement would produce a rupture with Spain, in consequence of which the English effects in that kingdom would be confiscated. The Dutch, too, are said to have been jealous of a Company, which in time might have proved their competitors in the illicit commerce to the Spanish Main; and to have hardened the King's heart against the new settlers, whom he abandoned to their fate, notwithstanding the repeated petitions and remonstrances of their constituents. Famine compelled the first adventurers

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to quit the coast: a second recruit of men and provisions was sent thither from Scotland; but, one of their ships, laden with provision, being burnt by accident, they likewise deserted the place: another reinforcement arrived, and being better provided than the two former, might have maintained their footing; but they were soon divided into factions that rendered all their schemes abortive. The Spaniards advanced against them; when, finding themselves incapable of withstanding the enemy, they solicited a capitulation, by virtue of which they were permitted to retire. Thus vanished all the golden dreams of the Scottish nation, which had engaged in this design with incredible eagerness, and even embarked a greater sum of money than ever they had advanced upon any other occasion. They were now not only disappointed in their expectations of wealth and affluence, but a great number of families were absolutely ruined by the miscarriage of the design, which they imputed solely to the conduct of King William. The whole kingdom of Scotland seemed to join in the clamour that was raised against their Sovereign, taxed him with double dealing, inhumanity, and base ingratitude, to a people who had lavished their treasure and best blood in support of his government, and in the gratification of his ambition: and had their power been equal to their animosity, in all probability a rebellion would have ensued. CHAP. VI. 1699.

§ XXI. William, mean while, enjoyed himself at Loo, where he was visited by the Duke of Zell, with whom he had long cultivated an intimacy of friendship. During his residence in this place, the Earl of Portland and the Grand Pensionary of Holland frequently conferred with the French Ambassador, Count Tallard, upon the subject of the Spanish succession. The first plan of the partition being defeated by the death of the young Prince of Bavaria, they found it necessary to concert another, and began a private negociation for that purpose. The Court

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of Spain, apprised of their intention, sent a written remonstrance to Mr. Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, expressing their resentment at this unprecedented method of proceeding, and desiring that a stop might be put to those intrigues, seeing the King of Spain would of himself take the necessary steps for preserving the public tranquillity, in case he should die without heirs of his body. A representation of the same kind was made to the ministers of France and Holland; the Marquis de Canales, the Spanish Ambassador at London, delivered a memorial to the Lords-Justices, couched in the most virulent terms, against this transaction, and even appealing from the King to the Parliament. This Spaniard was pleased with an opportunity to insult King William, who hated his person, and had forbid him the Court, on account of his appearing covered in his Majesty's presence. The Regency had no sooner communicated this paper to the King, than he ordered the Ambassador to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, and to remain within his own house till the time of his departure. He was likewise given to understand, that no writing would be received from him or any of his domesticks. Mr. Stanhope was directed to complain at Madrid of the affront offered to his Master, which he styled an insolent and saucy attempt to stir up sedition in the kingdom, by appealing to the people and Parliament of England against his Majesty. The Court of Spain justified what their minister had done, and in their turn ordered Mr. Stanhope to leave their dominions. Don Bernardo de Quiros, the Spanish Ambassador in Holland, prepared a memorial on the same subject, to the States-General; which, however, they refused to accept. These remonstrances did not interrupt the negociation, in which Louis was so eager, that he complained of William, as if he had not employed his whole influence in prevailing upon the Dutch to signify their accession to the articles agreed upon by France

France and England: but his Britannick Majesty found means to remove this jealousy. CHAP. VI.

§ XXII. About the middle of October, William returned to England, and conferred upon the Duke of Shrewsbury the office of Chamberlain, vacant since the resignation of Sunderland. Mr. Montagu at the same period resigned his seat at the Treasury-board, together with the chancellorship of the Exchequer; either foreseeing uncommon difficulty in managing a House of Commons, after they had been dismissed in ill-humour, or dreading the interest of his enemies, who might procure a vote that his two places were inconsistent. The King opened the session of Parliament, on the sixteenth day of November, with a long speech, advising a further provision for the safety of the kingdom by sea and land, as well as the repairs of ships and fortifications; exhorting the Commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, discharge the debts of the nation, and provide the necessary supplies. He recommended some good bill for the more effectual preventing and punishing unlawful and clandestine trading; and expressed a desire, that some method should be taken for employing the poor, which were become a burthen to the kingdom. He assured them, his resolutions were to countenance virtue and discourage vice: and that he would decline no difficulties and dangers, where the welfare and prosperity of the nation might be concerned. He concluded with these words: "Since then, our aims are only "for the general good, let us act with confidence in "one another; which will not fail, with God's "blessing, to make me a happy King, and you a "great and flourishing people."—The Commons were now become wanton in their disgust. Though they had received no real provocation, they resolved to mortify him with their proceedings. They affected to put odious interpretations on the very harmless expression of, "Let us act with confidence 1699.

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"in one another." Instead of an address of thanks, according to the usual custom, they presented a sullen remonstrance, complaining that a jealousy and disgust had been raised of their duty and affection; and desiring he would show marks of his high displeasure towards all persons who had presumed to misrepresent their proceedings to his Majesty. He declared, in his answer, that no person had ever dared to misrepresent their proceedings, and, that if any should presume to impose upon him by such calumnies, he would treat them as his worst enemies.

§ XXIII. The House was not in a humour to be appeased with soothing promises and protestations: they determined to distress him, by prosecuting his ministers. During the war, the colonies of North-America had grown rich by piracy. One Kidd, the master of a sloop, undertook to suppress the pirates, provided the government would furnish him with a ship of thirty guns, well manned. The board of Admiralty declaring that such a number of seamen could not be spared from the publick service, Kidd was equipped by the private subscription of the Lord-Chancellor, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, Sir Edward Harrison, and Colonel Livingstone, of New-York. The King promised to contribute one half of the expence, and reserved to himself one-tenth of the profits; but he never advanced the money. Kidd, being thus equipped, and provided with a commission to act against the French, as well as to make war on certain pirates therein mentioned by name, set sail from Plymouth: but, instead of cruising on the coast of America, he directed his course to the East-Indies, where he himself turned pirate, and took a rich ship belonging to the Moors. Having divided his booty with his crew, ninety of whom left him, in order to join other adventurers, he burned his own ship, and sailed with his prize to the West-Indies. There he purchased a sloop, in which

which he steered from North-America, leaving part of his men in the prize, to remain in one of the Leeward Islands, until they should receive further instructions. Arriving on the coast of New-York, he sent one Emmet to make his peace with the Earl of Bellamont, the governor of that province, who inveigled him into a negociation, in the course of which he was apprehended. Then his lordship sent an account of his proceedings to the Secretary of State, desiring that he would send for the prisoners to England, as there was no law in that colony for punishing piracy with death, and the majority of the people favoured that practice. The Admiralty, by order of the Lords-Justices, dispatched the ship Rochester to bring home the prisoners and their effects; but, after having been tossed for some time with tempestuous weather, this vessel was obliged to return to Plymouth in a shattered condition. This incident furnished the malcontents with a colour to paint the ministry as the authors and abettors of a piratical expedition, which they wanted to screen from the cognizance of the publick. The Old East-India Company had complained to the Regency of the capture made by Kidd in the East Indies, apprehending, as the vessel belonged to the Moors, they should be exposed to the resentment of the Mogul. In the beginning of December, this subject being brought abruptly into the House of Commons, a motion was made, That the letters patent granted to the Earl of Bellamont and others, of pirates' goods, were dishonourable to the King, against the laws of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of the land, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce. A warm debate ensued, in the course of which, some members declaimed with great bitterness against the Chancellor and the Duke of Shrewsbury, as partners in a piratical scheme; but these imputations were refuted, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. Not but they might

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have justly stigmatized the expedition as a little mean adventure, in which those noblemen had embarked with a view to their own private advantage.

§. XXIV. While this affair was in agitation among the Commons, the attention of the Upper House was employed upon the case of Dr. Watson, Bishop of St. David's. This prelate was supposed to have paid a valuable consideration for his bishoprick: and, after his elevation, had sold the preferments in his gift, with a view of being reimbursed. He was accused of simony; and, after a solemn hearing before the Archbishop of Canterbury and six suffragans, convicted and deprived. Then he pleaded his privilege: so that the affair was brought into the House of Lords, who refused to own him as a peer after he had ceased to be a bishop. Thus disappointed, he had recourse to the court of delegates, by whom the Archbishop's sentence was confirmed. The next effort that the Commons made, with a view of mortifying King William, was to raise a clamour against Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum. He was represented in the House as a very unfit preceptor for the Duke of Gloucester, both as a Scottish man, and author of that pastoral letter which had been burned by order of the Parliament, for asserting that William had a right to the Crown from conquest. A motion was made for addressing his Majesty that this prelate might be dismissed from his employment, but rejected by a great majority. Burnet had acted with uncommon integrity in accepting the trust. He had declined the office, which he was in a manner forced to accept. He had offered to resign his bishoprick, thinking the employment of a tutor would interfere with the duty of a pastor. He insisted upon the Duke's residence all the summer at Windsor, which is in the diocese of Sarum; and added to his private charities the whole income of his new office.

§. XXV. The circumstance on which the anti-courtiers

courtiers built their chief hope of distressing or disgracing the government, was the inquiry into the Irish forfeitures which the King had distributed among his own dependents. The Commissioners appointed by Parliament to examine these particulars, were Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton, Langford, the Earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Leving. The first four were actuated by all the virulence of faction: the other three were secretly guided by ministerial influence. They began their inquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with such severity as seemed to flow rather from resentment to the court, than from a love of justice and abhorrence of corruption. They in particular scrutinized the grant of an estate which the King had made to Mrs. Villiers, now Countess of Orkney, so as to expose his Majesty's partiality for that favourite, and subject him to an additional load of popular odium. In the course of their examination, the Earl of Drogheda, Leving, and Brewster, opposed the rest of the commissioners in divers articles of the report, which they refused to sign, and sent over a memorial to the House of Commons, explaining their reasons for dissenting from their colleagues. By this time, however, they were considered as hirelings of the court, and no regard was paid to their representations. The others delivered their report, declaring that a million and a half of money might be raised from the sale of the confiscated estates; and a bill was brought in for applying them to the use of the publick. A motion being made to reserve a third part for the King's disposal, it was over-ruled: then the Commons passed an extraordinary vote, importing, that they would not receive any petition from any person whatsoever concerning the grants; and that they would consider the great services performed by the commissioners appointed to inquire into the forfeited estates. They resolved, That the four commissioners who had signed the

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report had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity; and, That Sir Richard Leving, as authour of groundless and scandalous aspersions cast upon his four colleagues, should be committed prisoner to the Tower. They afterwards came to the following resolution, which was presented to the King in form of an address: That the procuring and passing those grants had occasioned great debts upon the nation; and heavy taxes upon the people, and highly reflected upon the King's honour; and, That the officers and instruments concerned in the same had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty. The King answered, That he was not only led by inclination, but thought himself obliged, in justice to reward those who had served well in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom. He observed, that as the long war had left the nation much in debt, their taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting publick credit, was what, in his opinion, would best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the kingdom. This answer kindled a flame of indignation in the House. They forthwith resolved, That the adviser of it had used his utmost endeavours to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the King and his people.

§ XXVI. They prepared, finished, and passed a bill of resumption. They ordered the report of the commissioners, together with the King's promise and speeches, and the former resolutions of the House touching the forfeited estates in Ireland, to be printed and published for their justification: and they resolved, That the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member, now of the Privy-Council, or by any other that had been a privy-counsellor, in this or any former reign, to his use or benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanour. That justice might be done to purchasers and creditors in the act

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of resumption, thirteen trustees were authorised and empowered to hear and determine all claims relating to those estates, to sell them to the best purchasers; and the money arising from the sale was appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. It passed under the title of a bill for granting an aid to his Majesty, by the sale of forfeited and other estates and interests in Ireland; and that it might undergo no alteration in the House of Lords, it was consolidated with the money bill for the service of the year. In the House of Lords it produced warm debates; and some alterations were made, which the Commons unanimously rejected. They seemed to be now more than ever exasperated against the ministry, and ordered a list of the Privy-Council to be laid before the House. The Lords demanded conferences, which served only to exasperate the two Houses against each other; for the Peers insisted upon their amendments, and the Commons were so provoked at their interfering in a money-bill, that they determined to give a loose to their resentment. They ordered all the doors of their House to be shut, that no members should go forth. Then they took into consideration the report of the Irish forfeitures, with the list of the privy-counsellors: and a question was moved, That an address should be made to his Majesty, to remove John Lord Somers, Chancellor of England, from his presence and councils for ever. This, however, was carried in the negative by a large majority. The King was extremely chagrined at the bill; which he considered as an invasion of his prerogative, an insult on his person, and an injury to his friends and servants; and he at first resolved to hazard all the consequences of refusing to pass it into a law: but he was diverted from his purpose by the remonstrances of those in whom he chiefly confided. He could not, however, dissemble his resentment. He became sullen, peevish, and morose; and his enemies did not fail to make use

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Burnet. Oldmixon. Cole's Mem. State tracts. Lamberty. Tindal. Ralph.

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use of this additional ill humour, as a proof of his aversion to the English people. Though the motion against the Chancellor had miscarried, the Commons resolved to address his Majesty, that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his Majesty's councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against the Earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but before the address could be presented, the King went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bill which had produced such a ferment, with some others, commanded the Earl of Bridgewater, Speaker of the House, in the absence of the Chancellor, who was indisposed, to prorogue the parliament to the twenty-third day of May.

An. 1700. § XXVII. In the course of this session, the Commons having prosecuted their inquiry into the conduct of Kidd, brought in a bill for the more effectual suppressing of piracy, which passed into a law: understanding afterwards, that Kidd was brought over to England, they presented an address to the King, desiring that he might not be tried, discharged, or pardoned, till the next session of Parliament: and his Majesty complied with their request. Boiling still with indignation against the Lord Chancellor, who had turned many disaffected persons out of the commission of the peace, the House ordered a bill to be prepared for qualifying Justices of the Peace; and appointed a committee to inspect the commissions. This, reporting that many dissenters and men of small fortunes, depending on the court, were put into those places, the Commons declared, in an address, That it would much conduce to the service of his Majesty, and the good of this kingdom, that gentlemen of quality and good estates should be restored, and put into the commissions of the peace and lieutenancy: and that men of small estates be neither continued, nor put into the

said commissions. The King assured them he was of the same opinion; and that he would give directions accordingly. They were so mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they thanked him in a body for his gracious answer. They passed a bill to exculpate such as had neglected to sign the association, either through mistake, or want of opportunity. Having received a petition from the Lancashire clergy, complaining of the insolence and attempts of Popish priests, they appointed a committee to enquire how far the laws against Popish refugees had been put in execution; and upon the report, a bill was brought in, complying with the prayer of the petition. It decreed a further reward to such persons as should discover and convict Popish priests and Jesuits: and perpetual imprisonment for those convicted on the oath of one or more witnesses. It enacted, That no person born after the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing, being a Papist, should be capable of inheriting any title of honour or estate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and, That no Papist should be capable of purchasing any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, either in his own name or in the name of any other person, in trust for him. Several alterations were made in this first draft, before it was finished and sent up to the Lords, some of whom proposed amendments: these, however, were not adopted; and the bill obtained the Royal assent, contrary to the expectation of those who prosecuted the measure, on the supposition that the King was a favourer of the Papists. After all, the bill was deficient in necessary clauses to enforce execution; so that the law was very little regarded in the sequel.

§ XXVIII. The Court sustained another insult from the old East-India Company, who petitioned the House that they might be continued by parliamentary authority during the remaining part of the time

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time prescribed in their charter. They, at the same time, published a state of their case, in which they expatiated upon the equity of their claims, and magnified the injuries they had undergone. The new company drew up an answer to this remonstrance, exposing the corrupt practises of their adversaries. But the influence of their great patron, Mr. Montague, was now vanished; the supply was not yet discussed, and the ministry would not venture to provoke the Commons, who seemed propitious to the old company, and actually passed a bill in their favour. This, meeting with no opposition in the Upper-House, was enacted into a law, renewing their establishment: so that now there were two rival companies of merchants trading to the East-Indies. The Commons, not yet satisfied with the vexations to which they had exposed their sovereign, passed a bill to appoint commissioners for taking and examining the publick accounts. Another law was made, to prohibit the use of India silks and stuffs which interfered with the English manufactures: a third, to take off the duties on the exportation of woollen manufactures, corn, grain, meal, bread, and biscuit: and a fourth, in which provision was made for punishing Governors, or Commanders in Chief of Plantations and Colonies, in case they should commit any crimes or acts of injustice and oppression in the exercise of their administration.

§ XXIX. The people of Scotland still continued in violent agitation. They published a pamphlet, containing a detail of their grievances, which they in a great measure ascribed to his Majesty. A complaint being preferred to the House of Commons against this performance, it was voted a false, scandalous, and traitorous libel, and ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The Commons addressed his Majesty, to issue his Royal proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of the said libel: and he complied

plied with their request. The Scottish company had sent up an address to the King, in behalf of some adventurers who were wrongfully detained prisoners in Carthagena: but Lord Basil Hamilton, who undertook the charge of this petition, was refused admittance to his Majesty, on pretence of his being suspected of disaffection to the government. The King, however, wrote to his council for Scotland, that he would demand the enlargement of the prisoners, and countenance any laudable measure that could advance the trade of that kingdom. The Directors of the Company, not content with this declaration, importuned their Lord Chancellor, who was in London, to procure access for Lord Basil Hamilton: and the ministry took shelter from their solicitations behind a parliamentary enquiry. The subject of the Scottish colony being introduced into the House of Lords, where the ministerial influence preponderated, a vehement debate arose, not from any regard to the interest of Scotland, but from mere opposition to the Court, which, however, triumphed in the issue. A motion was made, that the settlement of the Scottish colony at Darien was inconsistent with the good of the plantation trade of England; and passed in the affirmative by a small majority. Then they presented an address, declaring their sympathy with the losses of their fellow-subjects, and their opinion, that a prosecution of the design must end, not only in far greater disappointments to themselves, but also prove very inconvenient to the trade and quiet of the kingdom. They reminded him of the address of both Houses, touching that settlement: and they expressed their approbation of the orders he had sent to the governors of the plantations on this subject. The King, in his answer to the address, in which the Commons refused to concur, took the opportunity of exhorting them to consider of an union between the two kingdoms as a measure, than which nothing could more contribute to

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their mutual security and advantage. The Lords, in pursuance of this advice, prepared a bill, appointing certain commissioners of the realm of England to treat with commissioners of Scotland for the weal of both kingdoms; but it was obstructed in the House of Commons, who were determined to thwart every step that might tend to lessen the disgust, or appease the animosity of the Scottish nation. The malcontents insinuated, that the King's opposition to the Scottish company flowed neither from his regard to the interest of England, nor from his punctual observance of treaties with Spain; but solely from his attachment to the Dutch, who maintained an advantageous trade from the island of Curaçoa to the Spanish plantations in America, and were apprehensive that the Scottish company would deprive them of this commerce. This interpretation served as fuel to the flame already kindled in Scotland, and industriously blown up by the calumnies of the Jacobites. Their Parliament adopted the company as a national concern, by voting, That the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful settlement, which the Parliament would maintain and support. On account of this resolution the session was for some time discontinued: but, when the Scots understood their new settlement was totally abandoned, their capital lost, and all their hope entirely vanished, the whole nation was seized with a transport of fury. They loudly exclaimed, that they had been sacrificed and basely betrayed in that quarter where they were entitled to protection. They concerted an address to the King, couched in a very high strain, representing the necessity of an immediate Parliament. It was circulated about the kingdom for subscriptions, signed by a great number of those who sat in Parliament, and presented to the King by Lord Ross, who with some others was deputed for that purpose. The King told them, they should know his intention in Scotland; and in the mean time

time adjourned their Parliment by proclamation. The people exasperated at this new provocation, began to form the draft of a second national address, to be signed by the shires and boroughs of the kingdom; but, before this could be finished, the King wrote a letter to the Duke of Queensbury, and the Privy-Council of that nation, which was published for the satisfaction of the people. He professed himself grieved at the nation's loss, and willing to grant what might be needful for the relief and ease of the kingdom. He assured them, he had their interest at heart; and that his good subjects should have convincing proofs of his sincere inclination to advance the wealth and prosperity of that his ancient kingdom. He said he hoped this declaration would be satisfactory to all good men: that they would not suffer themselves to be misled; nor give advantage to enemies, and ill designing persons, ready to seize every opportunity of embroiling the government. He gave them to understand that his necessary absence had occasioned the late adjournment; but as soon as God should bring him back, their Parliament should be assembled. Even this explanation, seconded by all the credit and address of his ministers, failed in allaying the national ferment, which rose to the very verge of rebellion. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XXX. The King, who, from his first accession to the throne, had veered occasionly from one party to another, according to the circumstances of his affairs, and the opposition he encountered, was at this period so incensed and embarrassed by the caprice and insolence of the Commons, that he willingly lent an ear to the leaders of the Tories, who undertook to manage the Parliament according to his pleasures, provided he would part with some of his ministers, who were peculiarly odious to the Commons. The person against whom their anger was chiefly directed, was the Lord Chancellor Somers, the most active leader of the Whig party. They

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They demanded his dismission, and the King exhorted him to resign his office; but he refusing to take any step that might indicate a fear of his enemies, or a consciousness of guilt, the King sent a peremptory order for the seals by the Lord Jersey, to whom Somers delivered them without hesitation. They were successively offered to Lord Chief Justice Holt, and Trevor, the Attorney-General, who declined accepting such a precarious office. Meanwhile, the King granted a temporary commission to three Judges to sit in the Court of Chancery; and at length bestowed the seals, with the title of Lord Keeper, on Nathan Wright, one of the Serjeants at Law, a man but indifferently qualified for the office to which he was now preferred. Though William seemed altogether attached to the Tories, and inclined to a new Parliament, no person appeared to take the lead in the affairs of government; and, indeed, for some time the administration seemed to be under no particular direction.

§ XXXI. During the transactions of the last session, the negociation for a second partition treaty had been carried on in London by the French minister, Tallard, in conjunction with the Earls of Portland and Jersey, and was soon brought to perfection. On the twenty-first day of February the treaty was signed in London; and on the twenty-fifth of the next month it was subscribed at the Hague by Briord, the French envoy, and the Plenipotentiaries of the States-General. By this convention the treaty of Ryswick was confirmed. The contracting parties agreed, that, in case of his Catholick Majesty's dying without issue, the Dauphin should possess, for himself and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of St. Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino, the city and marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, in exchange for which last, the Duke of Lorraine

raine should enjoy the Duchy of Milan; but that the county of Biche should remain in sovereignty to the Prince of Vaudemont: that the Archduke Charles should inherit the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but, in case of his dying without issue, it should devolve to some other child of the Emperor, excepting him who might succeed as Emperor or King of the Romans; that this monarchy should never descend to a King of France or Dauphin; and that three months should be allowed to the Emperor, to consider whether or not he would accede to this treaty. Whether the French King was really sincere in his professions at this juncture, or proposed this treaty with a view to make a clandestine use of it at the Court of Spain for more interested purposes, it is not easy to determine; at first, however, it was concealed from the notice of the publick, as if the parties had resolved to take no step in consequence of it, during the life of his Catholick Majesty. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XXXII. In the beginning of July the King embarked for Holland, after having appointed a Regency to govern the kingdom in his absence. On the twenty-ninth day of the same month, the young Duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of seventeen which the Princess Anne had borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the English nation, not only on account of his promising talents and gentle behaviour, but also, as it left the succession undetermined, and might create disputes of fatal consequence to the nation. The Jacobites openly exulted in an event which they imagined would remove the chief bar to the interest of the Prince of Wales; but the Protestants generally turned their eyes upon the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I. It was with a view to concert the establishment of her succession, that the Court of Brunswick

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wick now returned the visit of King William. The present state of affairs in England, however, afforded a very uncomfortable prospect. The people were generally alienated from the person and government of the reigning King, upon whom they seem to have surfeited. The vigour of their minds was destroyed by luxury and sloth; the severity of their morals was relaxed by a long habit of venality and corruption. The King's health began to decline, and even his faculties decayed apace. No person was appointed to ascend the throne when it should become vacant. The Jacobite faction alone was eager, vigilant, enterprising, and elate. They dispatched Mr. Graham, brother of Lord Preston, to the Court of St. Germain's immediately after the death of the Duke of Gloucester; they began to bestir themselves all over the kingdom. A report was spread that the Princess Anne had privately sent a message to her father; and Britain was once more threatened with civil war, confusion, anarchy, and ruin.

§ XXXIII. In the mean time, King William was not inactive. The Kings of Denmark and Poland, with the Elector of Brandenburgh, had formed a league to crush the young King of Sweden; by invading his dominions on different sides. The Poles actually entered Livonia, and undertook the siege of Riga: the King of Denmark, having demolished some forts in Holstein, the Duke of which was connected with Sweden, invested Tonningen. The Swedish minister in England demanded that assistance of William which had been stipulated in a late renewal of the ancient treaty between England and Sweden. The States of Holland were solicited to the same purpose. Accordingly, a fleet of thirty sail, English and Dutch, was sent to the Baltick, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who joined the Swedish squadron, and

and bombarded Copenhagen, to which the Danish fleet had retired. At the same time, the Duke of Lunenbourg, with the Swedish forces, which happened to be at Bremen, passed the Elbe, and marched to the assistance of the Duke of Holstein. The Danes immediately abandoned the siege of Tonningen; and a body of Saxons, who had made an irruption into the territories of the Duke of Brunswick, were obliged to retreat in disorder. By the mediation of William, a negociation was begun for a treaty between Sweden and Denmark, which in order to quicken, Charles the young King of Sweden made a descent upon the isle of Zealand. This was executed with great success. Charles was the first man who landed: and here he exhibited such marks of courage and conduct, far above his years, as equally astonished and intimidated his adversaries. Then he determined to besiege Copenhagen; a resolution that struck such terror into the Danes, that they proceeded with redoubled diligence in the treaty, which was brought to a conclusion, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, about the middle of August. Then the Swedes retired to Schonen, and the squadrons of the maritime powers returned from the Baltick. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§. XXXIV. When the new partition treaty was communicated by the ministers of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavourable construction. Saxony and the northern Crowns were still embroiled with their own quarrels, consequently could not give much attention to such a remote transaction. The Princes of Germany appeared cautious and dilatory in their answers, unwilling to be concerned in any plan that might excite the resentment of the House of Austria. The Elector of Brandenburgh, in particular, had set his heart upon the real dignity, which he hoped to obtain from the favour and authority of the Emperor. The Italian States were averse

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averse to the partition-treaty, from their apprehension of seeing France in possession of Naples, and other districts of their country. The Duke of Savoy affected a mysterious neutrality, in hopes of being able to barter his consent for some considerable advantage. The Swiss cantons declined acceding as guarantees. The Emperor expressed his astonishment that any disposition should be made of the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the present possessor, and the states of the kingdom. He observed, that neither justice nor decorum could warrant the contracting powers to compel him, who was the rightful heir, to accept a part of his inheritance within three months, under penalty of forfeiting even that share to a third person not yet named; and he declared, that he could take no final resolution, until he should know the sentiments of his Catholick Majesty, on an affair in which their mutual interest was so nearly concerned. Leopold was actually engaged in a negociation with the King of Spain, who signed a will in favour of his second son Charles; yet he took no measures to support the disposition, either by sending the Archduke with a sufficient force to Spain, or by detaching troops into Italy.

§ XXXV. The people of Spain were exasperated at the insolence of the three foreign powers who pretended to parcel out their dominions. Their pride took the alarm, at the prospect of their monarchy being dismembered: and their grandees repined at the thoughts of losing so many lucrative governments which they now enjoyed. The King's life became every day more and more precarious, from frequent returns of his disorder. The ministry was weak and divided, the nobility factious, and the people discontented. The hearts of the nation had been alienated from the House of Austria, by the insolent carriage and rapacious disposition of the Queen Mariana. The French had gained

gained over to their interests, the Cardinal Portocarrero, the Marquis de Montercy, with many other noblemen and persons of distinction. These, perceiving the sentiments of the people, employed their emissaries to raise a general cry that France alone could maintain the succession entire: that the House of Austria was feeble and exhausted, and any Prince of that line must owe his chief support to detestable hereticks. Portocarrero tampered with the weakness of his Sovereign. He repeated and exaggerated all the suggestions: he advised him to consult Pope Innocent XII. on this momentous point of regulating the succession. That Pontiff, who was a creature of France, having taken the advice of a college of Cardinals, determined that the renunciation of Maria Theresa was invalid and null, as being founded upon compulsion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy. He, therefore, exhorted King Charles to contribute to the propagation of the faith, and the repose of Christendom, by making a new will in favour of a grandson of the French Monarch. This admonition was seconded by the remonstrances of Portocarrero; and the weak Prince complied with the proposal. In the mean time, the King of France seemed to act heartily, as a principal in the treaty of partition. His ministers at foreign courts cooperated with those of the maritime powers, in soliciting the accession of the different Potentates in Europe. When Count Zinzendorf, the Imperial Ambassador at Paris, presented a memorial desiring to know what part France would act, should the King of Spain voluntarily place a grandson of Louis upon the throne, the Marquis de Torcy answered in writing, that his Most Christian Majesty would by no means listen to such a proposal: nay, when the Emperor's minister gave them to understand that his master was ready to begin a separate negociation with the Court of Versailles, touching the

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Spanish succession, Louis declared he could not treat on that subject without the concurrence of his allies.

§ XXXVI. The nature of the partition-treaty was no sooner known in England, than condemned by the most intelligent part of the nation. They first of all complained, that such an important affair should be concluded without the advice of Parliament. They observed, that the scheme was unjust, and the execution of it hazardous: that, in concerting the terms, the maritime powers seemed to have acted as partisans of France; for the possession of Naples and the Tuscan ports would subject Italy to her dominion, and interfere with the English trade to the Levant and Mediterranean; while Guipuscoa, on any future rupture, would afford another inlet into the heart of the Spanish dominions; they, for these reasons, pronounced the treaty destructive of the balance of power, and prejudicial to the interest of England. All these arguments were trumpeted by the malcontents, so that the whole kingdom echoed with the clamour of disaffection. Sir Christopher Musgrave, and others of the Tory faction, began to think in earnest of establishing the succession of the English Crown upon the person of the Prince of Wales. They are said to have sent over Mr. Graham to St. Germain's with overtures to this purpose, and an assurance that a motion would be made in the House of Commons, to pass a vote that the Crown should not be supported in the execution of the partition-treaty. King William was not ignorant of the censure he had undergone, and not a little alarmed to find himself so unpopular among his own subjects. That he might be the more able to bestow his attention effectually upon the affairs of England, he resolved to take some measures for the satisfaction of the Scottish nation. He permitted the Parliament of that kingdom to meet on the twenty-eighth day of October,

and

and wrote a letter to them from his house at Loo, containing an assurance that he would concur in every thing that could be reasonably proposed for maintaining and advancing the peace and welfare of their kingdom. He promised to give his royal assent to such acts as they should frame for the better establishment of the Presbyterian discipline; for preventing the growth of popery, suppressing vice and immorality, encouraging piety and virtue, preserving and securing personal liberty, regulating and advancing trade, retrieving the losses, and promoting the interest of their African and Indian companies. He expressed his concern that he could not assert the Company's right of establishing a colony at Darien, without disturbing the peace of Christendom, and entailing a ruinous war on that his ancient kingdom. He recommended unanimity and dispatch in raising competent taxes for their own defence; and told them he had thought fit to continue the Duke of Queensberry in the office of High-Commissioner. Notwithstanding this soothing address, the national resentment continued to rage, and the Parliament seemed altogether intractable. By this time the Company had received certain tidings of the entire surrender of their settlement; and on the first day of the session, they represented to Parliament, that for want of due protection abroad, some persons had been encouraged to break in upon their privileges even at home. This remonstrance was succeeded by another national address to the King, who told them he could not take any further notice of that affair, since the Parliament was now assembled; and he had already made a declaration with which he hoped all his faithful subjects would be satisfied. Nevertheless, he found it absolutely necessary to practise other expedients for allaying the ferment of that nation. His ministers and their agents bestirred themselves so successfully, that the heats in Parliament

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§ XXXVII. King William had returned to England on the eighteenth day of October, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he found himself involved: and in the beginning of the next month, he received advice that the King of Spain was actually dead. He could not be surprized at this event, which had been so long expected; but it was attended with a circumstance which he had not foreseen. Charles, by his last will, had declared the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, the sole heir of the Spanish monarchy. In case this Prince should die without issue, or inherit the Crown of France, he willed that Spain should devolve to the Duke of Berry; in default of him, and children, to the Archduke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom, to the Duke of Savoy and his posterity. He likewise recommended a match between the Duke of Anjou and one of the Archduchesses. When this testament was first notified to the French court, Louis

Louis seemed to hesitate between his inclination and engagements to William and the States-General. Madame de Maintenon is said to have joined her influence to that of the Dauphin, in persuading the King to accept of the will; and Pontchartrain was engaged to support the same measure. A cabinet council was called in her apartment. The rest of the ministry declared for the treaty of partition; the King affected a kind of neutrality. The Dauphin spoke for his son, with an air of resolution he had never assumed before: Pontchartrain seconded his argument: Madame de Maintenon asked what the Duke of Anjou had done to provoke the King, that he should be barred of his right to that succession? Then the rest of the members espoused the Dauphin's opinion; and the King owned himself convinced by their reasons. In all probability, the decision of this council was previously settled in private. After the will was accepted, Louis closetted the Duke of Anjou, to whom he said, in presence of the Marquis des Rois, "Sir, the King "of Spain has made you a King. The grandees "demand you: the people wish for you, and I give "my consent. Remember only, you are a Prince "of France. I recommend to you to love your "people, to gain their affection by the lenity of "your government, and to render yourself worthy "of the throne you are going to ascend." The new Monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the Princes of the blood; nevertheless, the Duke of Orleans and his son protested against the will, because the Archduke was placed next in succession to the Duke of Berry, in bar of their right as descendants of Anne of Austria, whose renunciation could be of no more force than that of Maria-Theresa. On the fourth day of December, the new King set out for Spain, to the frontiers of which he was accompanied by his two brothers.

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§ XXXVIII. When the will was accepted, the French minister, de Torcy, endeavoured to justify his master's conduct to the Earl of Manchester, who resided at Paris in the character of Ambassador from the Court of London. He observed, That the treaty of partition was not likely to answer the end for which it had been concerted: That the Emperor had refused to accede: That it was relished by none of the Princes to whom it had been communicated: That the people of England and Holland had expressed their discontent at the prospect of France's being in possession of Naples and Sicily: That if Louis had rejected the will, the Archduke would have had a double title derived from the former will, and that of the late King: That the Spaniards were so averse to the division of their monarchy, there would be a necessity for conquering the whole kingdom before the treaty could be executed: That the ships to be furnished by Great-Britain and Holland would not be sufficient for the purposes of such a war; and it was doubtful whether England and the States-General would engage themselves in a greater expence. He concluded with saying, That the treaty would have been more advantageous to France than the will, which the King accepted purely from a desire of preserving the peace of Europe. His Master hoped, therefore, that a good understanding would subsist between him and the King of Great-Britain. The same reasons were communicated by Briod, the French Ambassador at the Hague, to the States-General. Notwithstanding this address, they ordered their Envoy at Paris to deliver a memorial to the French King, expressing their surprise at his having accepted the will; and their hope, that as the time specified for the Emperor's acceding to the treaty was not expired, his Most Christian Majesty would take the affair again into his consideration, and adhere to his engagements in every article. Louis, in his answer to this

this memorial, which he dispatched to all the Courts of Europe, declared, That what he chiefly considered, was the principal design of the contracting parties, namely, the maintenance of peace in Europe: and that true to his principle, he only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the spirit of the treaty. CHAP. VI. 1709.

§ XXXIX. With this answer he sent a letter to the States, giving them to understand, that the peace of Europe was so firmly established by the will of the King of Spain, in favour of his grandson, that he did not doubt their approbation of his succession to the Spanish Crown. The States observed, That they could not declare themselves upon an affair of such consequence, without consulting their respective provinces. Louis admitted the excuse, and assured them of his readiness to concur with whatever they should desire for the security of the Spanish Netherlands. The Spanish Ambassador at the Hague presented them with a letter from his new Master, who likewise notified his accession to all the powers of Europe, except the King of England. The Emperor loudly exclaimed against the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition; and threatened to do himself justice by force of arms. The Spaniards apprehending that a league would be formed between his Imperial Majesty and the maritime powers, for setting aside the succession of the Duke of Anjou, and conscious of their own inability to defend their dominions, resigned themselves entirely to the protection of the French Monarch. The towns in the Spanish Netherlands and the duchy of Milan admitted French garrisons: a French squadron anchored in the Port of Cadiz; and another was detached to the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies. Part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, were made prisoners of war, because they would not own the King of Spain, whom their Masters had not yet

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yet acknowledged. The States were overwhelmed with consternation by this event; especially when they considered their own naked situation, and reflected that the Spanish garrisons might fall upon them before they could assemble a body of troops for their defence. The danger was so imminent, that they resolved to acknowledge the King of Spain without further hesitation, and wrote a letter to the French King for that purpose: this was no sooner received, than orders were issued for sending back their battalions.

§ XL. How warmly soever King William resented the conduct of the French King, in accepting the will so diametrically opposite to his egagements, he dissembled his chagrin; and behaved with such reserve and apparent indifference, that some people naturally believed he had been privy to the transaction. Others imagined that he was discouraged from engaging in a new war by his bodily infirmities, which daily increased, as well as by the opposition in Parliament, to which he should be inevitably exposed. But his real aim was to conceal his sentiments, until he should have sounded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and seen how far he could depend upon his new ministry. He now seemed to repose his chief confidence in the Earl of Rochester, who had undertaken for the Tories, and was declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Godolphin was appointed first Commissioner of the Treasury, Lord Tankerville succeeded Lord Lonsdale, lately deceased, as Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Sir Charles Hedges was declared Secretary of State, in the room of the Earl of Jersey; but the management of the Commons was entrusted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto opposed the measures of the Court with equal virulence and ability. These new undertakers, well knowing they should find it very difficult, if not impossible, to secure a majority in the present parliament, prevailed

vailed on the King to dissolve it by proclamation: then the sheriffs were changed according to their nomination, and writs issued for a new Parliament to meet on the sixth day of February. During this interval, Count Wratislaw arrived in England, as Ambassador from the Emperor, to explain Leopold's title to the Spanish Monarchy, supported by repeated entails and renunciations, confirmed in the most solemn treaties. This minister met with a very cold reception from those who stood at the helm of affairs. They sought to avoid all connections that might engage their country as a principal in another war upon the Continent; smarting as they were from the losses and incumbrances which the last had entailed upon them and their posterity. They seemed to think that Louis, rather than involve hisself in fresh troubles, would give all the security that could be desired for maintaining the peace of Europe; or even, should this be refused, they saw no reason for Britain's exhausting her wealth and strength to support a chimerical balance, in which her interest was but remotely concerned: It was their opinion, that, by keeping aloof, she might render herself more respectable. Her reserve would over-awe contending powers: they would in their turn sue for her assistance, and implore her good offices; and, instead of declaring herself a party, she would have the honour to decide as arbitress of their disputes. Perhaps they extended this idea too far; and in all probability, their notions were enflamed by a spirit of faction. They hated the Whigs as their political adversaries, and detested the war, because it had been countenanced and supported by the interest of that party. The King believed, that a conjunction of the two monarchies of France and Spain would prove fatal to the liberties of Europe; and that this could not be prevented by any other method than a general union of the other European powers. He certainly was an

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enthusiast in his sentiments of this equilibrium; and fully convinced that he himself, of all the potentates in Christendom, was the only Prince capable of adjusting the balance. The Imperial Ambassador could not, therefore, be long ignorant of his real purpose, as he conversed with the Dutch favourites, who knew and approved of their Master's design, though he avoided a declaration, until he should have rendered his ministers more propitious to his aim. The true secret, however, of that reserve with which Count Wratislaw was treated at his first arrival, was a private negociation which the King had set on foot with the Regency of Spain, touching a barrier in the Netherlands. He proposed, that certain towns should be garrisoned with English and Dutch troops, by way of security against the ambitious designs of France; but the Regency were so devoted to the French interest, that they refused to listen to any proposal of this nature. While this affair was in agitation, William resolved to maintain a wary distance from the Emperor; but, when his effort miscarried, the Ambassador found him much more open and accessible.*

§ XLI. The Parliament meeting on the sixth, was prorogued to the tenth day of February, when Mr. Harley was chosen Speaker by a great majority in opposition to Sir Richard Onslow. The

* This year was distinguished by a glorious victory which the young King of Sweden obtained in the nineteenth year of his age. Riga continued invested by the King of Poland, while Peter the Czar of Muscovy made his approaches to Narva, at the head of a prodigious army; purposing, in violation of all faith and justice, to share the spoils of the youthful Monarch. Charles landed at Revel, compelled the Saxons to abandon the siege of Riga, and having supplied the place, marched with a handful of troops against the Muscovites, who had undertaken the siege of Narva. The Czar quitted his army with some precipitation, as if he had been afraid of hazarding his person, while Charles advanced through ways that were thought impracticable, and surprized the enemy. He broke into their camp before they had the least intimation of his approach, and totally routed them, after a short resistance. He took a great number of prisoners, with all their baggage, tents, and artillery, and entered Narva in triumph.

King

King had previously told Sir Thomas Lyttelton, it would be for his service that he should yield his pretensions to Harley at this juncture; and that gentleman agreed to absent himself from the House on the day of election. The King observed, in his speech, That the nation's loss, in the death of the Duke of Gloucester, had rendered it absolutely necessary for them to make further provision for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line: That the death of the King of Spain had made such an alteration in the affairs of the continent, as required their mature deliberation. The rest of his harangue turned upon the usual topicks of demanding supplies for the ensuing year, reminding them of the deficiencies and publick debts, recommending to their inquiry the state of the navy and fortifications; exhorting them to encourage commerce, employ the poor, and proceed with vigour and unanimity in all their deliberations. Though the elections had been generally carried in favour of the Tory interest, the ministry had secured but one part of that faction. Some of the most popular leaders, such as the Duke of Leeds, the Marquis of Normandy, the Earls of Nottingham, Seymour, Musgrave, How, Finch, and Showers, had been either neglected, or found refractory, and resolved to oppose the Court measures with all their influence. Besides, the French King, knowing that the peace of Europe would in a great measure depend on the resolutions of the English Parliament, is said to have distributed great sums of money in England, by means of his minister Tallard, in order to strengthen the opposition in the House of Commons. Certain it is, the nation abounded, at this period, with the French coins called Louis-d'ors and pistoles; but whether this redundancy was owing to a balance of trade in favour of England, or to the largesses of Louis, we shall not pretend to determine. We may likewise observe, that the infamous practice of bribing electors had

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had never been so flagrant as in the choice of representatives for this Parliament. This scandalous traffick had been chiefly carried on by the Whig party, and, therefore, their antagonists resolved to spare no pains in detecting their corruption. Sir Edward Seymour distinguished himself by his zeal and activity; he brought some of these practices to light, and, in particular, sigmatized the new East India Company, for having been deeply concerned in this species of venality. An inquiry being set on foot in the House of Commons, several elections were declared void; and divers persons who had been, illegally returned, were first expelled the House, and afterwards detained in prison. Yet these prosecutions were carried on with such partiality, as plainly indicated that they flowed rather from party zeal than from patriotism.

§ XLII. A great body of the Commons had resolved to present an address to his Majesty, desiring he would acknowledge the King of Spain; and the motion, in all probability, would have been carried by a considerable majority, had not one bold and lucky expression given such a turn to the debate, as induced the anti-courtiers to desist. One Mr. Monckton, in the heat of his declamation against this measure, said, he expected the next vote would be for owning the pretended Prince of Wales. Though there was little or no connection between these two subjects, a great many members were startled at the information, and deserted the measure, which was dropped accordingly. The King's speech being taken into consideration, the House resolved to support his Majesty and his government; to take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, and the preservation of the Protestant religion. This resolution was presented in an address to the King, who received it favourably. At the same time, he laid before them a memorial he had received from the States-General, and

and desired their advice and assistance in the points that constituted the substance of this remonstrance. The States gave him to understand, that they had acknowledged the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain: that France had agreed to a negociation, in which they might stipulate the necessary conditions for securing the peace of Europe; and that they were firmly resolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his Majesty and their other allies. They therefore begged he would send a minister to the Hague, with necessary powers and instructions to cooperate with them in this negociation; they told him that, in case it should prove ineffectual, or Holland be suddenly invaded by the troops which Louis had ordered to advance towards their frontiers, they relied on the assistance of England, and hoped his Majesty would prepare the succours stipulated by treaty, to be used, should occasion require. The memorial was likewise communicated to the House of Lords. Mean while, the Commons desired that the treaties between England and the States-General should be laid before their House. These being perused, they resolved upon an address, to desire his Majesty would enter into such negociations with the States-General, and other Potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of Great-Britain and the United-Provinces, as well as to the preservation of the peace of Europe, and to assure him of their support and assistance, in performance of the treaty subsisting between England and the States-General. This resolution, however, was not carried without great opposition from those who were averse to the nation's involving itself in another war upon the continent. The King professed himself extremely well pleased with this address, and told them he would immediately order his ministers abroad to act in concert with the States-General and other Powers, for the attainment of those ends they proposed.

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§ XLIII. He communicated to the Commons a letter written by the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Earl of Perth, Governor to the pretended Prince of Wales. It had been mislaid by accident, and came to London in the French mail. It contained a scheme for another invasion of England, together with some reflections on the character of the Earl of Middleton, who had supplanted him at the Court of St. Germain. Melfort was a mere projector; and seems to have had no other view than that of recommending himself to King James, and bringing his rival into disgrace. The House of Lords, to whom the letter was also imparted, ordered it to be printed. Next day they presented an address, thanking his Majesty for his care of the Protestant religion; desiring all the treaties made since the last war might be laid before them; requesting him to engage in such alliances as he should think proper for preserving the balance of power in Europe; assuring him of their concurrence: expressing their acknowledgment for his having communicated Melfort's letter; desiring he would give orders for seizing the horses and arms of disaffected persons; for removing Papists from London; and for searching after those arms and provisions of war mentioned in the letter: finally, they requested him to equip speedily a sufficient fleet for the defence of himself and his kingdom. They received a gracious answer to this address, which was a further encouragement to the King to put his own private designs in execution: towards the same end the letter contributed not a little, by inflaming the fears and resentment of the nation against France, which in vain disclaimed the Earl of Melfort as a fantastical schemer, to whom no regard was paid at the Court of Versailles. The French ministry complained of the publication of this letter, as an attempt to sow jealousy between the two Crowns; and, as a convincing proof of their sincerity, banished the Earl of Melfort to Angers.

§ XLIV. The credit of Exchequer-bills was so lowered by the change of the ministry, and the lapse of the time allotted for their circulation, that they fell near twenty per cent. to the prejudice of the revenue, and the discredit of the government in foreign countries. The Commons having taken this affair into consideration, voted, That provision should be made from time to time for making good the principal and interest due on all Parliamentray funds; and afterwards passed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called Exchequer-bills. This was sent up to the Lords on the sixth day of March, and on the thirteenth received the royal assent. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Commons was the settlement of the succession to the throne, which the King had recommended to their consideration in the beginning of the session. Having deliberated on this subject, they resolved, That for the preservation of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the security of the Protestant religion, it was absolutely necessary that a further declaration should be made of the limitation and succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, after his Majesty and the Princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively: and, That further provision should be first made for the security of the rights and liberties of the people. Mr. Harley moved, That some conditions of government might be settled as preliminaries, before they should proceed to the nomination of the persons, that their security might be complete. Accordingly, they deliberated on this subject, and agreed to the following resolutions; That whoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown, shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established: That, in case the Crown and Imperial Dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions

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or territories which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the consent of Parliament: That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the Crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of Parliament: That, from and after the time that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy-Council, by the laws and customs of the realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy-Council as shall advise and consent to the same: That, after the limitation shall take effect, no person born out of the kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized, and made a denizen (except such as are born of English parents), shall be capable to be of the Privy-Council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the Crown to himself, or to any others in trust for him: That no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as member of the House of Commons: That, after the limitation shall take effect, Judges' commissions be made *quandiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them: That no pardon under the Great Seal of England be pleadable to an inpeachment by the Commons in Parliament. Having settled these preliminaries, they resolved, That the Princess Sophia, Duchess Dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the Crown of England, in the Protestant Line, after his Majesty and the Princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively: and, That the

the further limitation of the Crown be to the said Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. A bill being formed on these resolutions, was sent up to the House of Lords, where it met with some opposition from the Marquis of Normandy: a protest was likewise entered against it by the Earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the Lords Guildford and Jeffries. Nevertheless, it passed without amendments, and on the twelfth day of June received the royal assent: the King was extremely mortified at the preliminary limitations, which he considered as an open insult on his own conduct and administration; not but that they were necessary precautions, naturally suggested by the experience of those evils to which the nation had been already exposed, in consequence of raising a foreign Prince to the throne of England. As the Tories lay under the imputation of favouring the late King's interest, they exerted themselves zealously on this occasion, to wipe off the aspersion, and insinuate themselves into the confidence of the people; hoping, that in the sequel they should be able to restrain the nation from engaging too deep in the affairs of the Continent, without incurring the charge of disaffection to the present King and Government. The act of settlement being passed, the Earl of Macclesfield was sent to notify the transaction to the Electress Sophia, who likewise received from his hands the order of the Garter. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XLV. The act of succession gave umbrage to all the Popish Princes who were more nearly related to the Crown than this Lady, whom the Parliament had preferred to all others. The Duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter to King Charles I. by her mother, ordered her Ambassador, Count Maffei, to make a protestation to the Parliament of England, in her name, against all resolutions and decisions contrary to her title, as sole daughter to the Princess Henrietta, next in succession to the Crown of England, after

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after King William and the Princess Anne of Denmark. Two copies of this protest Maffei sent in letters to the Lord-Keeper and the Speaker of the Lower House, by two of his gentlemen, and a publick notary to attest the delivery; but no notice was taken of the declaration. The Duke of Savoy, while his minister was thus employed in England, engaged in an alliance with the Crowns of France and Spain, on condition, that his Catholick Majesty should espouse his youngest daughter without a dowry: That he himself should command the allied army in Italy, and furnish eight thousand infantry, with five and twenty hundred horse, in consideration of a monthly subsidy of fifty thousand crowns.

§ XLVI. During these transactions, Mr. Stanhope, envoy extraordinary to the States-General, was empowered to treat with the ministers of France and Spain, according to the addresses of both Houses of Parliament. He represented, that though his most Christian Majesty had thought fit to deviate from the partition treaty, it was not reasonable that the King of England should lose the effect of that convention; he, therefore, expected some security for the peace of Europe; and for that purpose insisted upon certain articles, importing, that the French King should immediately withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands: that, for the security of England, the cities of Ostend and Nieuport should be delivered into the hands of his Britannick Majesty: that no kingdom, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the Crown of Spain, should ever be yielded or transferred to the Crown of France, on any pretence whatever: that the subjects of his Britannick Majesty should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, with regard to their navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholick Majesty; and also all such immunities, rights, and franchises, as the subjects of France, or any other power, either possess

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for the present, or may enjoy for the future: That all treaties of peace and conventions between England and Spain should be renewed: and, That a treaty formed on these demands should be guaranteed by such powers as one or other of the Contractors should solicit and prevail upon to accede. Such likewise were the proposals made by the States-General, with this difference, that they demanded, as cautionary towns, all the strongest places in the Netherlands. Count D'Avaux, the French minister, was so surprised at these exorbitant demands, that he could not help saying, They could not have been higher, if his Master had lost four successive battles. He assured them, that his Most Christian Majesty would withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands as soon as the King of Spain should have forces of his own sufficient to guard the country: with respect to the other articles, he could give no other answer, but that he would immediately transmit them to Versailles. Louis was filled with indignation at the insolent strain of those proposals, which he considered as a sure mark of William's hostile intentions. He refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe; than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick; and he is said to have tampered, by means of his agents and emissaries, with the members of the English Parliament, that they might oppose all steps tending to a new war on the Continent. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XLVII. King William certainly had no expectation that France would close with such proposals; but he was not without hope, that her refusal would warm the English nation into a concurrence with his designs. He communicated to the House of Commons the demands which had been made by him and the States-General; and gave them to understand, that he would from time to time make them acquainted with the progress of the negociation. The Commons, suspecting that his intention was to make them parties in a congress which he

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might conduct to a different end from that which they proposed, resolved to signify their sentiments in the answer to this message. They called for the treaty of partition, which being read, they voted an address of thanks to his Majesty, for his most gracious declaration, that he would make them acquainted with the progress of the negociation: but they signified their disapprobation of the partition-treaty, signed with the great seal of England, without the advice of the Parliament, which was then sitting, and productive of ill consequences to the kingdom, as well as to the peace of Europe, as it assigned over to the French King such a large portion of the Spanish dominion. Nothing could be more mortifying to the King than this open attack upon his own conduct: yet he suppressed his resentment, and without taking the least notice of their sentiments with respect to the partition-treaty, assured them, that he should be always ready to receive their advice on the negociation which he had set on foot, according to their desire. The debates in the House of Commons upon the subject of the partition-treaty rose to such violence, that divers members in declaiming against it, transgressed the bounds of decency. Sir Edward Seymour compared the division which had been made of the Spanish territories to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe did not scruple to say it was a felonious treaty: an expression, which the King resented to such a degree, that he declared he would have demanded personal satisfaction with his sword, had he not been restrained by the disparity of condition between himself and the person who had offered such an outrageous insult to his honour: whether the Tories intended to alienate the minds of the nation from all foreign connections, or to wreak their vengeance on the late ministers, whom they hated as the chiefs of the Whig party, certain it is, they now raised an universal outcry against the partition-treaty

treaty, which was not only condemned in publick pamphlets and private conversation, but even brought into the House of Lords as an object of Parliamentary censure. In the month of March a warm debate on this subject was begun by Sheffield Marquis of Normandy, and carried on with great vehemence by other noblemen of the same faction. They exclaimed against the article by which so many territories were added to the Crown of France: they complained that the Emperor had been forsaken: that the treaty was not communicated to the privy-council or ministry, but clandestinely transacted by the Earls of Portland and Jersey: that the sanction of the great seal had been unjustly and irregularly applied, first to blank powers, and afterwards to the treaty itself. The courtiers replied, that the King had engaged in a treaty of partition at the desire of the Emperor, who had agreed to every article, except that relating to the duchy of Milan, and afterwards desired, that his Majesty would procure for him the best terms he could obtain; above all things recommending secrecy, that he might not forfeit his interest in Spain, by seeming to consent to the treaty: that foreign negociations being intrusted to the care of the crown, the King lay under no legal obligation to communicate such secrets of State to his council; far less was he obliged to follow their advice: and that the keeper of the great seal had no authority for refusing to apply it to any powers or treaty which the King should grant or conclude, unless they were contrary to law, which had made no provision for such an emergency*. The Earl of Portland apprehending

* In the course of this debate, the Earl of Rochester reprehended some Lords for speaking disrespectfully of the French King, observing, that it was peculiarly incumbent on Peers to treat Monarchs with decorum and respect, as they derived their dignity from the Crown. Another affirming, that the French King was not only to be respected, but likewise to be feared; a certain Lord replied, "He hoped no man "in England need to be afraid of the French King; much less the Peer "who spoke last, who was too much a friend to that Monarch to fear "any thing from his resentment."

that

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that this tempest would burst upon his head, declared on the second day of the debate, that he had by the King's order communicated the treaty, before it was concluded, to the Earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the Lords Lonsdale, Somers, Hallifax, and Secretary Vernon. These noblemen owned, that they had been made acquainted with the substance of it: that when they excepted to some particulars, they were told, his Majesty had carried the matter as far as it could be advanced, and that he could obtain no better terms; thus assured that every article was already settled, they said they no longer insisted upon particulars, but gave their advice that his Majesty should not engage himself in any measure that would produce a new war, seeing the nation had been so uneasy under the last. After long debates, and great variety as well as virulence of altercation, the House agreed to an address, in which they disapproved of the partition-treaty, as a scheme inconsistent with the peace and safety of Europe as well as prejudicial to the interest of Great-Britain. They complained, that neither the instructions given to his plenipotentiaries, nor the draft of the treaty itself, had been laid before his Majesty's council. They humbly besought him that, for the future, he would in all matters of importance, require and admit the advice of his natural-born subjects of known probity and fortune; and that he would constitute a council of such persons, to whom he might impart all affairs which should any way concern him and his dominions. They observed, that interest and natural affection to their country would incline them to every measure that might tend to its welfare and prosperity; whereas strangers could not be so much influenced by these considerations: that their knowledge of the country would render them more capable than foreigners could be of advising his Majesty touching the true interests of his kingdom: that they had exhibited such repeated demonstrations of their

Burnet. Oldmixon. Cole. Lamberty. State Tracts. Tindal. Ralph. Voltaire.

duty

duty and affection, as must convince his Majesty of their zeal in his service; nor could he want the knowledge of persons fit to be employed in all his secret and arduous affairs: finally, as the French King appeared to have violated the treaty of partition, they advised his Majesty, in future negociations with that Prince, to proceed with such caution as might imply a real security. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XLVIII. The King received this severe remonstrance with his usual phlegm; saying, it contained matter of very great moment: and he would take care that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England. Though he deeply felt this affront, he would not alter his conduct towards the new ministers: but, he plainly perceived their intention was to thwart him in his favourite measure, and humble him into a dependence upon their interest in Parliament. On the last day of March, he imparted to the Commons the French King's declaration, that he would grant no other security than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick: so that the negociation seemed to be at an end. He likewise communicated two resolutions of the States-General, with a memorial from their envoy in England, relating to the ships they had equipped with a view to join the English fleet, and the succours stipulated, in the treaty concluded in the year 1677, which they desired might be sent over with all convenient expedition. The House having considered this message, unanimously resolved to desire his Majesty would carry on the negociations in concert with the States-General, and take such measures therein as might most conduce to their safety: they assured him, they would effectually enable him to support the treaty of 1677, by which England was bound to assist them with ten thousand men, and twenty ships of war, in case they should be attacked. Though the King was nettled at that part of this address, which, by confining him to one treaty, implied their disappro- An. 1701.

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bation of a new confederacy, he discovered no signs of emotion: but thanked them for the assurance they had given, and told them he had sent orders to his envoy at the Hague, to continue the conferences with the Courts of France and Spain. On the nineteenth day of April, the Marquis de Torcy delivered to the Earl of Manchester, at Paris, a letter from the new King of Spain to his Britannick Majesty, notifying his accession to that throne, and expressing a desire of cultivating a mutual friendship with the King and Crown of England. How averse soever William might have been to any correspondence of this sort, the Earl of Rochester and the new ministers importuned him in such a manner to acknowledge Philip, that he at length complied with their entreaties, and wrote a civil answer to his Most Catholick Majesty. This was a very alarming incident to the Emperor, who was bent upon a war with the two crowns, and had determined to send Prince Eugene with an army into Italy, to take possession of the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. The new Pope, Clement XI. who had succeeded to the papacy in the preceding year, was attached to the French interest: the Venetians favoured the Emperor; but they refused to declare themselves at this juncture.

§ XLIX. The French King consented to a renewal of the negociations at the Hague; but, in the mean time, tampered with the Dutch deputies, to engage them in a separate treaty. Finding them determined to act in concert with the King of England, he protracted the conferences, in order to gain time, while he erected fortifications, and drew lines on the frontiers of Holland, divided the Princes of the Empire by his intrigues, and endeavoured to gain over the States of Italy. The Dutch, mean while, exerted themselves in providing for their own security. They re-enforced their garrisons, purchased supplies, and solicited succours from foreign potentates. The States wrote a letter, to King William, explaining

explaining the danger of their situation, professing the most inviolable attachment to the interest of England, and desiring that the stipulated number of troops should be sent immediately to their assistance. The three Scottish regiments which he had retained in his own pay were immediately transported from Scotland. The letter of the States-General he communicated to the House of Commons, who having taken it into consideration, resolved to assist his Majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe; and to provide immediate succours for the States-General, according to the treaty of 1677. The House of Peers, to whom the letter was also communicated, caried their zeal still farther. They presented an address, in which they desired his Majesty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the States-General, but also engage with them in a strict league offensive and defensive, for their common preservation; and invite into it all the Princes and States that were concerned in the present visible danger arising from the union of France and Spain. They exhorted him to enter into such alliances with the Emperor, as his Majesty should think necessary, pursuant to the ends of the treaty concluded in the year 1689. They assured him of their hearty and sincere assistance, not doubting that Almighty God would protect his sacred person in so righteous a cause; and that the unanimity, wealth, and courage of his subjects would carry him with honour and success through all the difficulties of a just war. Lastly, they took leave humbly to represent, that the dangers to which his kingdom and allies had been exposed, were chiefly owing to the fatal counsels that prevented his Majesty's sooner meeting his people in Parliament.

CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ L. These proceedings of both Houses could not but be very agreeable to the King, who expressed his satisfaction in his answer to each apart. They were the more remarkable, as at this very time considerable

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siderable progress was made in a design to impeach the old ministry. This deviation, therefore, from the tenour of their former conduct could be owing to no other motive than a sense of their own danger, and resentment against France, which, even during the negociation, had been secretly employed in making preparations to surprise and distress the States-General. The Commons having expressed their sentiments on this subject, resumed the consideration of the partition-treaty. They had appointed a committee to examine the journals of the House of Lords, and to report their proceedings in relation to the treaty of partition. When the report was made by Sir Edward Seymour, the House resolved itself into a committee, to consider the state of the nation: after warm debates, they resolved, That William Earl of Portland, by negociating and concluding the treaty of partition, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. They ordered Sir John Leveson Gower to impeach him at the bar of the House of Lords: and named a committee to prepare the articles of his impeachment. Then, in a conference with the Lords, they desired to know the particulars of what had passed between the Earl of Portland and Secretary Vernon, in relation to the partition-treaty, as also what other information they had obtained concerning negociations or treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. The Lords demurring to this demand, the Lower-House resolved to address the King, That copies of both treaties of partition, together with all the powers and instructions for negociating those treaties, should be laid before them. The copies were accordingly produced, and the Lords sent down to the Commons two papers, containing the powers granted to the Earls of Portland and Jersey, for signing both treaties of partition. The House afterwards ordered, That Mr. Secretary Vernon should lay before them all the letters which had passed between the Earl of

Portland and him, in relation to those treaties; and he thought proper to obey their command. Nothing could be more scandalously partial than the conduct of the Commons on this occasion. They resolved to screen the Earl of Jersey, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Mr. Vernon, who had been as deeply concerned as any others in that transaction; and pointed all their vengeance against the Earls of Portland and Orford, and the Lords Somers and Hallifax. Some of the members even tampered with Kidd, who was now a prisoner in Newgate, to accuse Lord Somers as having encouraged him in his piracy. He was brought to the bar of the House, and examined: but he declared that he had never spoke to Lord Somers; and that he had no order from those concerned in the ship, but that of pursuing his voyage against the pirates in Madagascar. Finding him unfit for their purpose, they left him to the course of law; and he was hanged, with some of his accomplices.

§ LI. Lord Somers, understanding that he was accused in the House of Commons of having consented to the partition-treaty, desired that he might be admitted and heard in his own defence. His request being granted, he told the House, that when he received the King's letter concerning the partition-treaty, with an order to send over the necessary powers in the most secret manner, he thought it would have been taking too much upon him to put a stop to a treaty of such consequence, when the life of the King of Spain was so precarious; for had the King died before the treaty was finished, and he been blamed for delaying the necessary powers, he could not have justified his own conduct, since the King's letter was really a warrant: that, nevertheless, he had written a letter to his Majesty, objecting to several particulars in the treaty, and proposing other articles which he thought were for the interest of his country: that he thought himself bound to put the

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the great seal to the treaty when it was concluded: that as a Privy-Counsellor he had offered his best advice, and as Chancellor, executed his Office according to his duty. After he had withdrawn, his justification gave rise to a long debate, which ended in a resolution carried by a majority of seven voices, That John Lord Somers, by advising his Majesty to conclude the treaty of partition, whereby large territories of the Spanish monarchy were to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. Votes to the same effect were passed against Edward Earl of Orford, and Charles Lord Hallifax; and all three were impeached at the bar of the Upper-House. But the Commons knowing that those impeachments would produce nothing in the House of Lords, where the opposite interest predominated, they resolved to proceed against the accused noblemen in a more expeditious and effectual way of branding their reputation. They voted and presented an address to the King, desiring he would remove them from his councils and presence for ever, as advisers of a treaty so pernicious to the trade and welfare of England. They concluded, by repeating their assurance, that they would always stand by and support his Majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies both at home and abroad. The King in his answer, artfully overlooked the first part of the remonstrance. He thanked them for their repeated assurances; and told them he would employ none in his service but such as should be thought most likely to improve that mutual trust and confidence between him and his people, which was so necessary at that conjuncture, both for their own security and the preservation of their allies.

§ LII. The Lords, incensed at this step of the Commons, which they considered as an insult upon their tribunal, and a violation of common justice, drew up and delivered a counter-address, humbly beseeching

beseeching his Majesty, that he would not pass any censure upon the accused Lords until they should be tried on the impeachments, and judgments be given according to the usage of parliament. The King was so perplexed by these opposite representations, that he knew not well what course to follow. He made no reply to the counter address; but allowed the names of the impeached Lords to remain in the council-books. The Commons having carried their point, which was to stigmatize those noblemen, and prevent their being employed for the future, suffered the impeachments to be neglected, until they themselves moved for trial. On the fifth day of May the House of Lords sent a message to the Commons, importing, That no articles had as yet been exhibited against the noblemen whom they had impeached. The charge was immediately drawn up against the Earl of Orford: him they accused of having received exorbitant grants from the Crown: of having been concerned with Kidd the pirate: of having committed abuses in managing and victualling the fleet, when it lay on the coast of Spain: and lastly, of having advised the partition-treaty. The Earl in his own defence declared, that he had received no grant from the king, except a very distant reversion, and a present of ten thousand pounds, after he had defeated the French at La Hogue: that in Kidd's affair he had acted legally, and with a good intention towards the publick, though to his own loss: that his accounts with regard to the fleet which he commanded had been examined and passed; yet he was ready to wave the advantage, and justify himself in every particular; and he absolutely denied that he had given any advice concerning the treaty of partition. Lord Somers was accused of having set the seals to the powers, and afterwards to the treaties: of having accepted some grants: of having been an accomplice with Kidd; and of having some guilt of partial and dilatory proceedings in Chancery.

CHAP. VI. 1701.

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BOOK I. 1701. He answered every article in the charge; but no replication was made by the Commons, either to him or to the Earl of Orford. When the Commons were stimulated by another message from the Peers, relating to the impeachments of the Earl of Portland and Lord Hallifax, they declined exhibiting articles against the former, on pretence of respect for his Majesty; but on the fourteenth of June the charge against Hallifax was sent up to the Lords. He was taxed with possessing a grant in Ireland, without paying the produce of it, according to the law lately enacted concerning those grants: with enjoying another grant out of the forest of Deane, to the waste of the timber and the prejudice of the navy: with having held places that were incompatible, by being at the same time Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; and with having advised the two treaties of partition. He answered, that his grant in Ireland was of debts and sums of money, and within the act concerning confiscated estates; that all he had ever received from it did not exceed four hundred pounds, which, if he was bound to repay, a common action would lie against him; but every man was not to be impeached who did not discharge his debts at the very day of payment. He observed, that as his grant in the forest of Deane extended to weedings only, it could occasion no waste of timber, nor prejudice to the navy: that the auditor's place was held by another person, until he obtained the King's leave to withdraw from the Treasury: that he never saw the first treaty of partition, nor was his advice asked upon the subject: that he had never heard of the second but once before it was concluded: and then he spoke his sentiments freely on the subject. This answer, like the others, would have been neglected by the Commons, whose aim was now to evade the trials, had not the Lords pressed them by messages to expedite the articles. They even appointed a day

day for Orford's trial, and signified their resolution to the Commons. These desired that a committee of both Houses should be named for settling preliminaries, one of which was, That the Lord to be tried should not sit as a Peer; and the other imported, That those Lords impeached for the same matter should not vote on the trial of each other. They likewise desired, that Lord Somers should be first tried. The Lords made no objection to this last demand; but they rejected the proposal of a committee consisting of both Houses, alledging, that the Commons were parties, and had no title to sit in equality with the judges, or to settle matters relating to the trial: that this was a demand contrary to the principles of law and rules of justice, and never practised in any court or nation. The Lords, indeed, had yielded to this expedient in the Popish plot, because it was a case of treason, in which the King's life and safety of the kingdom were concerned, while the people were jealous of the Court, and the whole nation was in a ferment; but at present the times were quiet, and the charge amounted to nothing more than misdemeanours; therefore, the Lords could not assent to such a proposal as was derogatory from their jurisdiction. Neither would they agree to the preliminaries; but on the twelfth day of June, resolved, That no Peer impeached for high crimes and misdemeanours, should, upon his trial, be without the bar: and, That no peer impeached could be precluded from voting on any occasion, except in his own trial. Divers messages passed between the two Houses; the Commons still insisting upon a committee to settle preliminaries: at length the dispute was brought to a free conference. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LIII. Mean while the King going to the House of Peers gave the royal assent to the bill of succession. In this speech he expressed his warm acknowledgments for their repeated assurances of supporting

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supporting him in such alliances as should be most proper for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and for the security of England and the States-General. He observed, that the season of the year was advanced; that the posture of affairs absolutely required his presence abroad: and he recommended dispatch of the publick business, especially of those matters which were of the greatest importance. The Commons thanked him in an address for having approved of their proceedings: they declared they would support him in such alliances as he should think fit to make in conjunction with the Emperor and the States-General, for the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. Then they resumed their dispute with the Upper-House. In the free conference, Lord Haversham happened to tax the Commons with partiality, in impeaching some Lords, and screening others who were equally guilty of the same misdemeanours. Sir Christopher Musgrave, and the managers for the Commons, immediately withdrew: this unguarded sally being reported to the House, they immediately resolved, That John Lord Haversham had uttered most scandalous reproaches and false expressions, highly reflecting upon the honour and justice of the House of Commons, tending to a breach in the good correspondence between the two Houses, and to the interruption of the publick justice of the nation: That the said Lord Haversham should be charged before the Lords for the said words: That the Lords should be desired to proceed in justice against him, and to inflict upon him such punishment as so high an offence against the Commons did deserve. The Commons had now found a pretence to justify their delay; and declared they would not renew the conference until they should have received satisfaction. Lord Haversham offered to submit to a trial; but insisted on their first proving the words which he was said to have spoken. When this declaration

was imparted to the Commons, they said, the Lords ought to have censured him in a summary way, and still refused to renew the conference. The Lords, on the other hand, came to a resolution, That there should not be a committee of both Houses concerning the trial of the impeached lords. Then they resolved, That Lord Somers should be tried at Westminster-hall on Tuesday the seventeenth day of June, and signified this resolution to the Lower-House; reminding them, at the same time, of the articles against the Earl of Portland. The Commons refused to appear, alleging, they were the only judges, and that the evidence was not yet prepared. They sent up the reasons of their non-appearance to the House of Lords, where they were supported by the new ministry and all the mal-contents, and produced very warm debates. The majority carried their point piecemeal, by dint of different votes, against which very severe protests were entered. On the day appointed for the trial, they sent a message to the Commons, that they were going to Westminster-hall. The other impeached lords asked leave, and were permitted to withdraw. The articles of impeachment against Lord Somers and his answers, being read in Westminster-hall, and the Commons not appearing to prosecute, the Lords adjourned to their own house, where they debated concerning the question that was to be put. This being settled, they returned to Westminster-hall; and the question being put, "That John "Lord Somers be acquitted of the articles of im-"peachment against him, exhibited by the House "of Commons, and all things therein contained; "and, That the impeachment be dismissed," it was carried by a majority of thirty-five. The Commons, exasperated at these proceedings, resolved, That the Lords had refused justice to the Commons: That they had endeavoured to overturn the right of impeachment lodged in the Commons by the ancient constitution of the kingdom:

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That all the ill consequences which might attend the delay of the supplies given for the preservation of the publick peace, and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, would be owing to those who, to procure an indemnity for their own crimes, had used their utmost endeavours to make a breach between the two Houses. The Lords sent a message to the Commons, giving them to understand, that they had acquitted Lord Somers, and dismissed the impeachment, as nobody had appeared to support the articles; and that they had appointed next Monday for the trial of the Earl of Orford. They resolved, That unless the charge against Lord Haversham should be prosecuted by the Commons before the end of the session, the Lords would adjudge him innocent: That the resolutions of the Commons on their late votes contained most unjust reflections on the honour and justice of the Peers; That they were contrived to cover their affected and unreasonable delays in prosecuting the impeached Lords: That they manifestly tended to the destruction of the judicature of the Lords; to the rendering trials on impeachments impracticable for the future, and to the subverting the constitution of the English government; That, therefore, whatever ill consequences might arise from the so long deferring the supplies for this year's service, were to be attributed to the fatal counsel of the putting off the meeting of a Parliament so long, and to the unnecessary delays of the House of Commons. On the twenty-third day of June, the articles of impeachment against Edward Earl of Orford were read in Westminster-hall: but the House of Commons having previously ordered that none of the members should appear at this pretended trial, those articles were not supported; so that his lordship was acquitted, and the impeachment dismissed. Next day, the impeachments against the Duke of Leeds, which had lain seven years neglected, together with those against the Earl of Portland and Lord Hallifax, as well

well as the charge against Lord Haversham, were dismissed for want of prosecution. Each House ordered a narrative of these proceedings to be published; and their mutual animosity had proceeded to such a degree of rancour, as seemed to preclude all possibility of reconciliation. The Commons, in the whole course of this transaction, had certainly acted from motives of faction and revenge: for nothing could be more unjust, frivolous, and partial, than the charge exhibited in the articles of impeachment, their anticipating address to the King, and their affected delay in the prosecutions. Their conduct on this occasion was so flagrant as to attract the notice of the common people, and inspire the generality of the nation with disgust. This the Whigs did not fail to augment by the arts of calumny, and in particular, by insinuating that the Court of Versailles had found means to engage the majority of the Commons in its interest. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LIV. This faction had, since the beginning of this session, employed their emissaries in exciting a popular aversion to the Tory ministers and members, and succeeded so well in their endeavours, that they formed a scheme of obtaining petitions from different counties and corporations, that should induce the Commons to alter their conduct, on the supposition that it was contrary to the sense of the nation. In execution of this scheme, a petition signed by the deputy-lieutenants, above twenty justices of the peace, the grand jury and freeholders of the county of Kent, had been presented to the House of Commons on the eighteenth day of May, by five gentlemen of fortune and distinction. The purport of this remonstrance was to recommend union among themselves and confidence in his Majesty, whose great actions for the nation could never be forgotten without the blackest ingratitude: to beg they would have regard to the voice of the people; that their religion and safety might be effectually provided for; that their loyal addresses might

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be turned into bills of supply; and that his most sacred Majesty might be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it should be too late. The House was so incensed at the petulance of the petition, that they voted it scandalous, insolent, and seditious; and ordered the gentlemen who had presented it to be taken into custody. They were afterwards committed to the Gatehouse, where they remained till the prorogation of parliament; but they had no reason to repine at their imprisonment, which recommended them to the notice and esteem of the publick. They were visited and caressed by the chiefs of the Whig interest, and considered as martyrs to the liberties of the people. Their confinement gave rise to a very extraordinary paper, intitled, "A memorial from the gentlemen, freeholders, and "inhabitants, of the counties of ——, in behalf of "themselves, and many thousands of the good peo-"ple of England." It was signed *Legion*, and sent to the speaker in a letter, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the House of Commons. In this strange expostulation, the House was charged with illegal and unwarrantable practices, in fifteen particulars; a new claim of right was ranged under seven heads; and the Commons were admonished to act according to their duty, as specified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the resentment of an injured nation. It was concluded in these words: "For "Englishmen are no longer to be slaves to Par-"liaments than to kings—our name is Legion, "and we are many." The Commons were equally provoked and intimidated by this libel, which was the production of one Daniel de Foe, a scurrilous party-writer, in very little estimation. They would not, however, deign to take notice of it in the House: but a complaint being made of endeavours to raise tumults and seditions, a committee was appointed to draw up an address to his Majesty, informing

informing him of those seditious endeavours, and beseeching him to provide for the publick peace and security. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LV. The House, however, perceiving plainly that they had incurred the odium of the nation, which began to clamour for a war with France, and dreading the popular resentment, thought fit to change their measures with respect to this object, and present the address we have already mentioned, in which they promised to support him in the alliances he should contract with the Emperor and other States, in order to bridle the exorbitant power of France. They likewise proceeded in earnest upon the supply, and voted funds for raising about two millions seven hundred thousand pounds to defray the expence of the ensuing year. They voted thirty thousand seamen, and resolved that ten thousand troops should be transported from Ireland to Holland, as the auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty of 1677 with the States-General. The funds were constituted of a land tax, certain duties on merchandize, and a weekly deduction from the Excise, so as to bring down the civil list to six hundred thousand pounds; as the Duke of Gloucester was dead, and James's Queen refused her allowance. They passed a bill for taking away all privileges of Parliament in legal prosecutions, during the intermediate prorogations; their last struggle with the Lords was concerning a bill for appointing commissioners to examine and state the publick accounts. The persons nominated for this purpose were extremely obnoxious to the majority of the Peers, as violent partizans of the Tory faction: when the bill, therefore, was sent up to the Lords, they made some amendments, which the Commons rejected. The former animosity between the two Houses began to revive, when the King interrupted their disputes, by putting an end to the session, on the twenty-fourth day of June, after having thanked the Parliament for their

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their zeal in the publick service, and exhorted them to a discharge of their duties in their several counties. He was, no doubt, extremely pleased with such an issue of a session that had begun with a very inauspicious aspect. His health daily declined; but he concealed the decay of his constitution, that his allies might not be discouraged from engaging in a confederacy, of which he was deemed the head and chief support. He conferred the command of the ten thousand troops destined for Holland upon the Earl of Marlborough, and appointed him at the same time his Plenipotentiary to the States-General: a choice that evinced his discernment and discretion; for that nobleman surpassed all his contemporaries, both as a general and a politician. He was cool, penetrating, intrepid, and persevering, plausible, insinuating, artful, and dissembling.

§ LVI. A Regency being established, the King embarked for Holland in the beginning of July. On his arrival at the Hague he assisted at an assembly of the States-General, whom he harangued in very affectionate terms, and was answered with great cordiality: then he made a progress round the frontiers, to examine the state of the garrisons; and gave such orders and directions as he judged necessary for the defence of the country. Mean while, the French minister, D'Avaux, being recalled from the Hague, delivered a letter to the States from the French King, who complained that they had often interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected: but he assured them it wholly depended upon themselves, whether they should continue to receive marks of his ancient friendship for their republick. The letter was accompanied by an insolent memorial, to which the States-General returned a very spirited answer. As they expected nothing now but hostilities from France, they redoubled their diligence in making preparations for their own defence. They repaired

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their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries. King William and they had already engaged in an alliance with the King of Denmark, who undertook to furnish a certain number of troops, in consideration of a subsidy; and they endeavoured to mediate a peace between Sweden and Poland; but this they could not effect. France had likewise offered her mediation between those powers in hopes of bringing over Sweden to her interest; and the Court of Vienna had tampered with the King of Poland; but he persisted in his resolution to prosecute the war. The Spaniards began to be very uneasy under the dominion of their new master. They were shocked at the insolence of his French ministers and attendants, and much more at the manners and fashions which they introduced. The grandees found themselves very little considered by their Sovereign, and resented his economy; for he had endeavoured to retrench the expence of the Court, which had used to support their magnificence. Prince Eugene, at the head of the Imperial army, had entered Italy by Vicenza, and passed the Adige near Carpi, where he defeated a body of five thousand French forces. The enemy were commanded by the Duke of Savoy, assisted by Mareschal Catinat and the Prince of Vaudemont, who did not think proper to hazard an engagement: but Mareschal Villeroy arriving in the latter end of August with orders to attack the Imperialists, Catinat retired in disgust. The new General marched immediately towards Chiari, where Prince Eugene was entrenched, and attacked his camp; but met with such a reception that he was obliged to retire with the loss of five thousand men. Towards the end of the campaign the Prince took possession of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itself, and Goito, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks

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of the most invincible courage, indefatigable vigilance, and extensive capacity in the art of war. In January he had well nigh surprized Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct. They forced one of the gates, by which the Prince and his followers entered; Villeroy being wakened by the noise, ran out into the street, where he was taken; and the town must have been infallibly reduced, had Prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops, which he had ordered to march from the Parmesan, and secure the bridge. These not arriving at the time appointed, an Irish regiment in the French service took possession of the bridge, and the Prince was obliged to retire with his prisoner.

§ LVII. The French King, alarmed at the activity and military genius of the Imperial General, sent a reinforcement to his army in Italy, and the Duke of Vendome to command his forces in that country: he likewise importuned the Duke of Savoy to assist him effectually; but that Prince having obtained all he could expect from France, became cold and backward. His second daughter was by this time married to the new King of Spain, who met her at Barcelona, where he found himself involved in disputes with the States of Catalonia, who refused to pay a tax he had imposed, until their privileges should be confirmed; and he was obliged to gratify them in this particular.—The war continued to rage in the North. The young King of Sweden routed the Saxons upon the river Danube: thence he marched into Courland, and took possession of Mittau without opposition; while the King of Poland retired into Lithuania. In Hungary the French emissaries endeavoured to sow the seeds of a new revolt. They exerted themselves with indefatigable industry in almost every Court of Christendom. They had already gained over the Elector of Bavaria, and his brother, the Elector of Cologn, together with the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle

Wolfenbuttle and Saxa-Gotha, who professed neutrality, while they levied troops, and made such preparations for war, as plainly indicated that they had received subsidies from France. Louis had also extorted a treaty of alliance from the King of Portugal, who was personally attached to the Austrian interest: but this weak Prince was a slave to his ministers, whom the French King had corrupted. During this summer, the French coasts were over-awed by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who sailed down the Channel in the latter end of August, and detached Vice-Admiral Benbow with a strong squadron to the West Indies. In order to deceive the French King, with regard to the destination of this fleet, King William demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours, as if his design had been to send a squadron to the Mediterranean: but he met with a repulse, while the French ships were freely admitted. About this period the King revoked his letters-patent to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and constituted the Earl of Pembroke Lord High Admiral of England, in order to avoid the factions, the disputes, and divided counsels of a board. The Earl was no sooner promoted to this office, than he sent Captain Loades with three frigates to Cadiz, to bring home the sea stores and effects belonging to the English in that place, before the war should commence; and this piece of service was successfully performed. The French King, in order to enjoy all the advantages that could be derived from his union with Spain, established a company to open a trade with Mexico and Peru; and concluded a new Assiento treaty for supplying the Spanish plantations with negroes. At the same time, he sent a strong squadron to the port of Cadiz. The French dress was introduced into the Court of Spain; and, by a formal edict, the grandees of that kingdom and the peers of France were put on a level in each nation.

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There was no vigour left in the councils of Spain: her finances were exhausted, and her former spirit seemed to be quite extinguished; the nobility were beggars, and the common people overwhelmed with indigence and distress. The condition of France was not much more prosperous. She had been harassed by a long war, and now saw herself on the eve of another, which in all probability would render her completely miserable.

§ LVIII. These circumstances were well known to the Emperor and the Maritime Powers, and served to animate their negociations for another grand alliance. Conferences were opened at the Hague; and, on the seventh day of September, a treaty was concluded between his Imperial Majesty, England, and the States-General. The objects proposed, were to procure satisfaction to the Emperor in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the Allies. They engaged to use their endeavours for recovering the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and for putting the Emperor in possession of the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and islands upon the coast of Tuscany belonging to the Spanish dominions. They agreed, that the King of England, and the States-General, should keep and possess whatever lands and cities they should conquer from the Spaniards in the Indies: that the Confederates should faithfully communicate their designs to one another: that no party should treat of peace, or truce, but jointly with the rest. That they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the same government; and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish Indies: that, in concluding a peace, the Confederates should provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers to the dominions taken from the Spaniards, and secure the States by a barrier: that they should, at the same time, settle the exercise

exercise of religion in the new conquests: That they should assist one another with all their forces, in case of being invaded by the French King, or any other Potentate, on account of this alliance: That a defensive alliance should remain between them, even after the peace: That all Kings, Princes, and States, should be at liberty to engage in this alliance. They determined to employ two months, to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security which they demanded; and stipulated, that within six weeks the treaty should be ratified. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LIX. On the sixteenth day of September, King James expired at St. Germain's, after having laboured under a tedious indisposition. This unfortunate Monarch, since the miscarriage of his last attempt for recovering his throne, had laid aside all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. Though he could not prevent the busy genius of his Queen from planning new schemes of restoration, he was always best pleased when wholly detached from such chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diversion; but religion was his constant care. Nothing could be more harmless than the life he led; and, in the course of it, he subjected himself to uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seem to have vanished with his greatness. He became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents; and his religion certainly opened and improved the virtues of his heart, though it seemed to impair the faculties of his soul. In his last illness he conjured his son to prefer his religion to every worldly advantage, and even to renounce all thoughts of a Crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of justice and Christian forgiveness; he himself declaring, that he heartily forgave the

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the Prince of Orange, the Emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines in Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

§ LX. Before his death he was visited by the French King, who seemed touched with his condition, and declared, that, in case of his death, he would own his son as King of England. This promise James's Queen had already extorted from him, by the interest of Madame de Maintenon and the Dauphin. Accordingly, when James died, the pretended Prince of Wales was proclaimed King of England at St. Germain's, and treated as such at the Court of Versailles. His title was likewise recognized by the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and the Pope. William was no sooner informed of this transaction, than he dispatched a courier to the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryswick, to complain of this manifest violation. At the same time, he recalled the Earl of Manchester from Paris, and ordered him to return without taking an audience of leave. That nobleman immediately withdrew, after having intimated to the Marquis de Torcy the order he had received. Louis, in vindication of his own conduct, dispersed through all the Courts of Europe a manifesto, in which he affirmed, that in owning the Prince of Wales as King of England he had not infringed any article of the treaty of Ryswick. He confessed, that in the fourth article he had promised that he would not disturb the King of Great-Britain in the peaceable possession of his dominions; and he declared his intention was to observe that promise punctually. He observed, that his generosity would not allow him to abandon the Prince of Wales or his family: that he could not refuse him a title which was due to him by birth; that he had more reason to complain of the King of Great-Britain, and the States-General, whose declarations

rations and preparations in favour of the Emperor might be regarded as real contraventions to treaties: finally, he quoted some instances from history, in which the children enjoyed the titles of kingdoms which their fathers had lost. These reasons, however, would hardly have induced the French King to take such a step, had he not perceived that a war with England was inevitable; and that he should be able to reap some advantages in the course of it, from espousing the cause of the Pretender. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LXI. The substance of the French manifesto was published in London, by Poussin, the Secretary of Tallard, who had been left in England, as agent for the Court of Versailles. He was now ordered to leave the kingdom, which was filled with indignation at Louis, for having pretended to declare who ought to be their Sovereign. The city of London presented an address to the Lords Justices, expressing the deepest resentment of the French King's presumption; assured his Majesty that they would, at all times, exert the utmost of their abilities for the preservation of his person, and the defence of his just rights, in opposition to all invaders of his crown and dignity. Addresses of the same nature were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, and could not but be agreeable to William. He had now concerted measures for acting with vigour against France; and he resolved to revisit his kingdom, after having made a considerable progress in a treaty of perpetual alliance between England and the States-General, which was afterwards brought to perfection by his Plenipotentiary, the Earl of Marlborough. The King's return, however, was delayed a whole month by a severe indisposition, during which, the Spanish minister De Quiros hired certain physicians, to consult together upon the state and nature of his distemper. They declared, that he could not live many weeks; and this opinion was transmitted to Madrid. William, however, baffled the prognostick, though his

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his constitution had sustained such a rude shock, that he himself perceived his end was near. He told the Earl of Portland he found himself so weak, that he could not expect to live another summer: but charged him to conceal this circumstance until he should be dead. Notwithstanding this near approach to dissolution, he exerted himself with surprizing diligence and spirit in establishing the confederacy, and settling the plan of operations. A subsidiary treaty was concluded with the King of Prussia, who engaged to furnish a certain number of troops. The Emperor agreed to maintain ninety thousand men in the field against France: the proportion of the States was limited to one hundred and two thousand: and that of England did not exceed forty thousand, to act in conjunction with the Allies.

§ LXII. On the fourth day of November the King arrived in England, which he found in a strange ferment, produced from the mutual animosity of the two factions. They reviled each other in words and writing with all the falsehood of calumny, and all the bitterness of rancour: so that truth, candour, and temperance, seemed to be banished by consent of both parties. The King had found himself deceived in his new ministers, who had opposed his measures with all their influence. He was particularly disgusted with the deportment of the Earl of Rochester, who proved altogether imperious and untractable; and, instead of moderating, inflamed the violence of his party. The King declared, the year in which that nobleman directed his councils was the uneasiness of his whole life. He could not help expressing his displeasure in such a coldness of reserve, that Rochester told him he would serve his Majesty no longer, since he did not enjoy his confidence. William made no answer to this expostulation, but resolved he should see him no more. The Earl, however, at the desire of Mr. Harley, became

became more pliant and submissive; and, after the King's departure for Holland, repaired to his government of Ireland, in which he now remained, exerting all his endeavours to acquire popularity. William foreseeing nothing but opposition from the present spirit of the House of Commons, closetted some of their leaders, with a view to bespeak their compliance: but finding them determined to pursue their former principles, and to insist upon their impeachments, he resolved, with the advice of his friends, to dissolve the Parliament. This step he was the more easily induced to take, as the Commons were become extremely odious to the nation in general, which breathed nothing but war and defiance against the French Monarch. The Parliament was accordingly dissolved by proclamation, and another summoned to meet on the thirtieth day of December.

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§ LXIII. Never did the two parties proceed with such heat and violence against each other, as in their endeavours to influence the new elections. The Whigs, however, obtained the victory, as they included the monied-interest, which will always prevail among the borough-electors. Corruption was now reduced into an open and avowed commerce; and, had not the people been so universally venal and profligate, that no sense of shame remained, the victors must have blushed for their success. Though the majority thus obtained was staunch to the measures of the Court, the choice of Speaker fell upon Mr. Harley, contrary to the inclination of the King, who favoured Sir Thomas Lyttelton: but his Majesty's speech was received with universal applause. It was so much admired by the well-wishers to the Revolution, that they printed it with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French languages. It appeared as a piece of furniture in all their houses, and as the King's last legacy to his own and all Protestant people. In this celebrated harangue, he expatiated

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expatiated upon the indignity offered to the nation by the French King's acknowledging the pretended Prince of Wales: he explained the dangers to which it was exposed, by his placing his grandson on the throne of Spain: he gave them to understand he had concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given him by both Houses of Parliament, which alliances should be laid before them, together with other treaties still depending. He observed, that the eyes of all Europe were upon this parliament; and all matters at a stand, until their resolution should be known: therefore, no time ought to be lost. He told them, they had yet an opportunity to secure for themselves and their posterity the quiet enjoyment of their religion and liberties, if they were not wanting to themselves, but would exert the ancient vigour of the English nation; but he declared his opinion was, that should they neglect this occasion, they had no reason to hope for another. He said, it would be necessary to maintain a great strength at sea, and a force on land proportionable to that of their allies. He pressed the Commons to support the publick credit, which could not be preserved without keeping sacred that maxim, That they shall never be losers who trust to the Parliamentary security. He declared, that he never asked aids from his people without regret; that what he desired was for their own safety and honour, at such a critical time; and that the whole should be appropriated to the purposes for which it was intended. He expressed his willingness that the accounts should be yearly submitted to the inspection of Parliament. He again recommended dispatch, together with good bills for employing the poor, encouraging trade, and suppressing vice. He expressed his hope that they were come together, determined to avoid disputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause. He said, he should think it as great a blessing as could befal

befal England, if they were as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divided and weakened them, as he was disposed to make all his subjects safe and easy, as to any, even the highest offences committed against his person. He conjured them to disappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. As he had always shown, and always would show, how desirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he desired they would lay aside parties and divisions, so as that no distinction should be heard of amongst them, but of those who were friends to the Protestant religion and present establishment, and of those who wished for a Popish prince and a French government. He concluded by affirming, that if they, in good earnest, desired to see England hold the balance of Europe, and be indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it would appear by their improving the present opportunity. The Lords immediately drew up a warm and affectionate address, in which they expressed their resentment of the proceedings of the French King, in owning the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England. They assured his Majesty, they would assist him to the utmost of their power against all his enemies: and when it should please God to deprive them of his Majesty's protection, they would vigorously assist and defend against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatsoever, every person and persons who had right to succeed to the Crown of England, by virtue of the acts of Parliament for establishing and limiting the succession. On the fifth day of January, an address to the same effect was presented by the Commons, and both met with a very gracious reception from his Majesty. The Lords, as a further proof of their zeal, having taken into consideration the dangers that threatened Europe, from the accession of the Duke of Anjou to the Crown of Spain, drew up another address, explaining their

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sense of that danger; stigmatizing the French King as a violator of treaties; declaring their opinion that his Majesty, his subjects, and allies, could never be safe and secure, until the House of Austria should be restored to their rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason; and assuring his Majesty that no time should be lost, nor any thing wanting on their parts, which might answer the reasonable expectations of their friends abroad; not doubting but to support the reputation of the English name, when engaged under so great a Prince, in the glorious cause of maintaining the liberty of Europe.

§ LXIV. The King, in order to acquire the confidence of the Commons, ordered Mr. Secretary Vernon to lay before them copies of the treaties and conventions he had lately concluded, which were so well approved, that the House unanimously voted the supply. By another vote, they authorized the Exchequer to borrow six hundred thousand pounds at six per cent. for the service of the fleet, and fifty thousand pounds for the subsistence of guards and garrisons. They deliberated upon the state of the navy, with the debt due upon it, and examined an estimate of what would be necessary for extraordinary repairs. They called for an account of that part of the national debt for which no provision had been made. They ordered the Speaker to write to the trustees for the forfeited estates in Ireland, to attend the House with a full detail of their proceedings in the execution of that act of Parliament. On the ninth day of January, they unanimously resolved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for securing his Majesty's person, and the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line, for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors. They resolved to address his Majesty, that he would insert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing

That

That no peace should be made with France, until his Majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French King, in owning, and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They agreed to maintain forty thousand men for the sea service, and a like number by land, to act in conjunction with the forces of the Allies, according to the proportions settled by the contracting powers. The supplies were raised by an imposition of four shillings in the pound upon lands, annuities, pensions, and stipends, and on the profits arising from the different professions: by a tax of two and one-half per cent. on all stock in trade, and money at interest; of five shillings in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites; a capitation tax of four shillings: an imposition of one per cent. on all shares in the capital stock of any corporation or company which should be bought, sold, or bargained for; a duty of sixpence per bushel on malt, and a further duty on mum, cyder, and perry. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LXV. The Commons seemed to vie with the Lords in their zeal for the government. They brought in a bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales, which being sent up to the other House, passed with an additional clause of attainder against the Queen, who acted as Regent for the Pretender. This, however, was not carried without great opposition in the House of Lords. When the bill was sent back to the Commons, they excepted to the amendment as irregular. They observed, that attainders by bill constituted the most rigorous part of the law; and that the stretching of it ought to be avoided. They proposed, that the Queen should be attainted by a separate bill. The Lords assented to the proposal; and the bill against the pretended Prince of Wales passed. The Lords passed another for attainting the Queen; however, it was neglected in the House of Commons. But the longest and

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warmest debates of this session were produced by a bill, which the Lords brought in, for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and swearing to the King by the title of rightful and lawful King, and his heirs, according to the act of Settlement. It was proposed, that this oath should be voluntary, tendered to all persons, and their subscription or refusal recorded without any other penalty. This article was violently opposed by the Earl of Nottingham, and other Lords of the Tory interest. They observed, that the government was first settled with another oath, which was like an original contract: so that there was no occasion for a new imposition: that oaths relating to men's opinions had been always considered as severe impositions; and that a voluntary oath was in its own nature unlawful. During these disputes, another bill of abjuration was brought into the House of Commons by Sir Charles Hedges, that should be obligatory on all persons who enjoyed employments in church or state; it likewise included an obligation to maintain the government in King, Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the Church of England, together with the toleration for Dissenters. Warm debates arose upon the question, Whether the oath should be imposed or voluntary; and at length it was carried for imposition, by the majority of one voice. They agreed to insert an additional clause, declaring it equally penal to compass or imagine the death of her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, as it was to compass or imagine the death of the King's eldest son and heir. In the House of Peers this bill was strenuously opposed by the Tories; and, when after long debates it passed on the twenty-fourth day of February, ten Lords entered a protest against it, as an unnecessary and severe imposition.

§ LXVI. The whole nation now seemed to join in the cry for a war with France. Party heats began to abate: the factions in the city of London

were

were in a great measure moderated by the union of the two companies trading to the East-Indies, which found their mutual interest required a coalition. The Tories in the House of Commons, having concurred so heartily with the inclinations of the people, resolved, as far as it lay in their power, to justify the conduct of their party in the preceding parliament. They complained of some petitions and addresses which had reflected upon the proceedings of the last House of Commons, and particularly of the Kentish petition. The majority, however, determined, that it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or address the King, for the calling, sitting, or dissolving of parliaments, and for the redressing of grievances; and that every subject under any accusation, either by impeachment or otherwise, had a right to be brought to a speedy trial. A complaint being likewise made, that the Lords had denied the Commons justice in the matter of the late impeachments, a furious debate ensued; and it was carried by a very small majority that justice had not been denied. In some points, however, they succeeded: In the case of a controverted election at Maidstone, between Thomas Blisse and Thomas Culpepper, the House resolved, That the latter had been not only guilty of corrupt, scandalous, and indirect practices, in endeavouring to procure himself to be elected a burgess; but likewise, being one of the instruments in promoting and presenting the scandalous, insolent, and seditious petition, commonly called the Kentish petition, to the last House of Commons, was guilty of promoting a scandalous, villainous, and groundless reflection upon that House, by aspersing the members with receiving French money, or being in the interest of France; for which offence he was ordered to be committed to Newgate, and to be prosecuted by his Majesty's Attorney-General. They also resolved, That to assert that the House of Commons is not the only representative of the

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the Commons of England, tends to the subversion of the rights and privileges of the House of Commons, and the fundamental constitution of the government of this kingdom: That to assert, that the House of Commons have no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the subversion of the constitution of the House of Commons: That to print or publish any books, or libels, reflecting upon the proceedings of the House of Commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his service therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding these transactions, they did not neglect the vigorous prosecution of the war. They addressed his Majesty to interpose with his allies, that they might increase their quotas of land forces, to be put on board the fleet in proportion to the numbers his Majesty should embark. When they had settled the sums appropriated to the several uses of the war, they presented a second address, desiring he would provide for the half-pay officers, in the first place, in the recruits and levies to be made. The King assured them, it was always his intention to provide for those officers. He went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to an act, appointing Commissioners to take, examine, and determine the debts due to the army, navy, and the transport service; and also to take an account of prizes taken during the war.

§. LXVII. The affairs of Ireland were not a little embarrassed by the conduct of the trustees appointed to take cognizance of the forfeited estates. Their office was extremely odious to the people, as well as to the Court, and their deportment was arbitrary and imperious. Several individuals of that kingdom, provoked by the insolence of the trustees on one hand, and encouraged by the countenance of the courtiers on the other, endeavoured, by a circular letter, to spirit up the grand jury of Ireland against the

the act of resumption: petitions were presented to the King, couched in very strong terms, affirming, that it was injurious to the Protestant interest, and had been obtained by gross misinformations. The King having communicated these addresses to the House, they were immediately voted scandalous, false, and groundless: and the Commons resolved, That, notwithstanding the complaints and clamours against the trustees, it did not appear to the House but those complaints were groundless: nevertheless they afterwards received several petitions, imploring relief against the said act; and they ordered that the petitioners should be relieved accordingly. Proposals were delivered in for incorporating such as should purchase the said forfeitures, on certain terms therein specified, according to the rent-roll, when verified and made good to the purchasers; but, whereas in this rent-roll, the value of the estates had been estimated at something more than seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds, those who undertook to make the purchase affirmed, they were not worth five hundred thousand pounds; and thus the affair remained in suspense.

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§ LXVIII. With respect to Scotland, the clamours of that kingdom had not yet subsided. When the bill of abjuration passed in the House of Peers, the Earl of Nottingham had declared, that although he differed in opinion from the majority in many particulars relating to that bill, yet he was a friend to the design of it; and in order to secure a Protestant succession, he thought an union of the whole island was absolutely necessary. He therefore moved for an address to the King, that he would dissolve the Parliament of Scotland now sitting, as the legality of it might be called in question, on account of its having been originally a convention; and that a new Parliament should be summoned, that they might treat about an union of the two kingdoms. The king had this affair so much at heart,

that

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that even when he was disabled from going to the Parliament in person, he sent a letter to the Commons, expressing an eager desire that a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot, and earnestly recommending this affair to the consideration of the House: but, as a new Parliament in Scotland could not be called without a great risque, while the nation was in such a ferment, the project was postponed to a more favourable opportunity.

§ LXIX. Before the King's return from Holland, he had concerted with his allies the operations of the ensuing campaign. He had engaged in a negociation with the Prince of Hesse-D'Armstadt, who assured him, that if he would besiege and take Cadiz, the Admiral of Castile, and divers others grandees of Spain, would declare for the House of Austria. The Allies had also determined upon the siege of Keyserswaert, which the Elector of Cologn had delivered into the hands of the French: the Elector of Hanover had resolved to disarm the Princes of Wolfenbuttle: the King of the Romans, and Prince Louis of Baden, undertook to invest Landau: and the Emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement to Prince Eugene in Italy: but William did not live to see these schemes put in execution. His constitution was by this time almost exhausted, though he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his health by exercise. On the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown upon the ground with such violence, as produced a fracture in his collar-bone. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced by Ronjat, his serjeant-surgeon. In the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been disunited by the jolting of the carriage, were replaced under the inspection of Bidloo, his physician. He seemed

seemed to be in a fair way of recovering till the first day of March, when his knee appeared to be inflamed, with great pain and weakness. Next day he granted a commission under the great seal to several Peers, for passing the bills to which both Houses of Parliament had agreed; namely, the act of attainder against the pretended Prince of Wales, and another in favour of the Quakers, enacting, That their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LXX. On the fourth day of March the King was so well recovered of his lameness, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but, sitting down on a couch where he fell asleep, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa. He was attended by Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Theodore Colledon, Dr. Bidloo, and other eminent physicians; but their prescriptions proved ineffectual. On the sixth he granted another commission for passing the bill for the malt-tax, and the act of abjuration; and, being so weak that he could not write his name, he, in presence of the Lord-keeper and the Clerks of Parliament, applied a stamp prepared for the purpose. The Earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad; but he received his informations with great coldness, and said, "*Je tire vers ma fin.* —I approach the end of my life." In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying, "I know that you and the other learned "physicians have done all that your art can do for my "relief; but, finding all means ineffectual, I submit." He received spiritual consolation from Archbishop Tennison, and Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury; on Sunday morning the sacrament was administered to him. The Lords of the privy-council, and divers noblemen attended in the adjoining apartments, and to some of them who were admitted he spoke a little,

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little. He thanked Lord Averquerque for his long and faithful services: he delivered to Lord Albemarle the keys of his closet and scrutoire, telling him he knew what to do with them. He enquired for the Earl of Portland; but, being speechless before that nobleman arrived; he grasped his hand, and laid it to his heart, with marks of the most tender affection. On the eighth day of March he expired; in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years. The Lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no sooner perceived the King was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to untie from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring, containing some hair of the late Queen Mary. The body, being opened and embalmed, lay in state for some time at Kensington; and on the twelfth day of April was deposited in a vault of Henry's chapel in Westminster-Abbey. In the beginning of May, a Will which he had entrusted with Monsieur Schuylemberg was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his cousin Prince Frison of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, and appointed the States-General his executors. By a codicil annexed, he had bequeathed the Lordship of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders, to the Earl of Albemarle.

§ LXXI. William III. was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, a delicate constitution, subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He was very sparing of speech: his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animating. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity; and his natural sagacity made amends for the defects in his education, which had not been properly superintended.

intended. He was religious, temperate, generally just and sincere, a stranger to violent transports of passion, and might have passed for one of the best princes of the age in which he lived, had he never ascended the throne of Great Britain. But the distinguishing criterion of his character was ambition. To this he sacrificed the punctilios of honour and decorum, in deposing his own father-in-law and uncle; and this he gratified at the expence of the nation that raised him to sovereign authority. He aspired to the honour of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe; and the second object of his attention was, the prosperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. Whether he really thought the interests of the Continent and Great-Britain were inseparable, or sought only to drag England into the confederacy as a convenient Ally, certain it is, he involved these kingdoms in foreign connections, which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to establish this favourite point, he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which now seems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, contractors, and stock-jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He entailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politicks big with misery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words —William was a fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign.

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Burnet. Oldmixon. Boyer. Lamberty. State Tracts. Tindal. Ralph. Voltaire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

§ I. *Anne succeeds to the throne.* § II. *She resolves to fulfil the engagements of her predecessor with his allies.* § III. *A French memorial presented to the States-General.* § IV. *The Queen's inclination to the Tories.* § V. *War declared against France.* § VI. *The Parliament prorogued.* § VII. *Warm opposition to the ministry in the Scottish Parliament.* § VIII. *They recognize her Majesty's authority.* § IX. *The Queen appoints Commissioners to treat of an union between England and Scotland.* § X. *State of affairs on the continent.* § XI. *Keiserswaert and Landau taken by the Allies.* § XII. *Progress of the Earl of Marlborough in Flanders.* § XIII. *He narrowly escapes being taken by a French partisan.* § XIV. *The Imperialists are worsted at Fridlinguen.* § XV. *Battle of Luzzera, in Italy.* § XVI. *The King of Sweden defeats Augustus at Lissou in Poland.* § XVII. *Fruitless expedition to Cadiz by the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke.* § XVIII. *They take and destroy the Spanish galleons at Vigo.* § XIX. *Admiral Benbow's engagement with Ducasse in the West Indies.* § XX. *The Queen assembles a new Parliament.* § XXI. *Disputes between the two Houses.* § XXII. *The Lords enquire into the conduct of Sir George Rooke.* § XXIII. *The Parliament make a settlement on Prince George of Denmark.* § XXIV. *The Earl of Marlborough created a Duke.* § XXV. *All commerce and correspondence prohibited between Holland and the two Crowns of France and Spain.* § XXVI. *A bill for preventing occasional conformity.* § XXVII. *It miscarries.* § XXVIII. *Violent animosity between the two Houses, produced by the enquiry into the publick accounts.* § XXIX. *Disputes between the two Houses of Convocation.* § XXX. *Account*

Account of the parties in Scotland. § XXXI. *Dangerous heats in the Parliament of that kingdom.* § XXXII. *The Commissioner is abandoned by the Cavaliers.* § XXXIII. *He is in danger of his life, and suddenly prorogues the Parliament.* § XXXIV. *Proceedings of the Irish Parliament.* § XXXV. *They pass a severe act against Papists.* § XXXVI. *The Elector of Bavaria defeats the Imperialists at Scardingen, and takes possession of Ratisbon.* § XXXVII. *The Allies reduce Bonne.* § XXXVIII. *Battle of Eckeren.* § XXXIX. *The Prince of Hesse is defeated by the French at Spirebach.* § XL. *Treaty between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy. The King of Portugal accedes to the grand alliance.* § XLI. *Sir Cloudesley Shovel sails with a fleet to the Mediterranean.* § XLII. *Admiral Graydon's bootless expedition to the West-Indies.* § XLIII. *Charles King of Spain arrives in England.*

CHAP. VII.

1701.

§ I. WILLIAM was succeeded as Sovereign of England by Anne Princess of Denmark, who ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. Even the Jacobites seemed pleased with her elevation, on the supposition, that as in all probability she would leave no heirs of her own body, the dictates of natural affection would induce her to alter the succession in favour of her own brother. She had been taught to cherish warm sentiments of the Tories, whom she considered as the friends of monarchy, and the true sons of the church; and they had always professed an inviolable attachment to her person and interest; but her conduct was wholly influenced by the Countess of Marlborough, a woman of an imperious temper and intriguing genius, who had been intimate with the Princess from her tender years, and gained a surprising ascendency over her. Anne had undergone some strange vicissitudes of fortune in consequence of her father's expulsion, and sustained

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sustained a variety of mortifications in the late reign, during which she conducted herself with such discretion, as left little or no pretence for censure or resentment. Such conduct, indeed, was in a great measure owing to a natural temperance of disposition, not easily ruffled or inflamed. She was zealously devoted to the Church of England, from which her father had used some endeavours to detach her before the Revolution; and she lived in great harmony with her husband, to whom she bore six childen, all of whom she had already survived. William had no sooner yielded up his breath, than the privy-council in a body waited on the new Queen, who in a short but sensible speech, assured them, that no pains nor diligence should be wanting on her part, to preserve and support the religion, laws, and liberties of her country, to maintain the succession in the Protestant line, and the government in Church and State, as by law established. She declared her resolution to carry on the preparations for opposing the exorbitant power of France, and to assure the Allies that she would pursue the true interest of England, together with theirs, for the support of the common cause. The members of the privy-council having taken the oaths, she ordered a proclamation to be published, signifying her pleasure, that all persons in office of authority or government at the decease of the late King, should so continue till further directions. By virtue of an act passed in the late reign, the Parliament continued sitting even after the King's death. Both Houses met immediately, and unanimously voted an address of condolence and congratulation; and, in the afternoon, the Queen was proclaimed. Next day the Lords and Commons severally attended her with an address, congratulating her Majesty's accession to the throne; and assuring her of their firm resolution to support her against all her enemies whatsoever. The Lords acknowledged, that their great loss was no otherwise to be repaired but by a vigorous adherence to her Majesty

Majesty and her allies, in the prosecution of those measures already concerted to reduce the exorbitant power of France. The Commons declared, they would maintain the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line, and effectually provide for the publick credit of the nation. These addresses were graciously received by the Queen, who, on the eleventh day of March, went to the House of Peers with the usual solemnity, where, in a speech to both Houses, she expressed her satisfaction at their unanimous concurrence with her opinion, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of their allies in humbling the power of France; and desired they would consider of proper methods towards obtaining a union between England and Scotland. She observed to the Commons, that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government was expired; and that she relied entirely on their affection for its being supplied in such a manner as should be most suitable to the honour and dignity of the Crown. She declared it should be her constant endeavour to make them the best return for their duty and affection, by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all her subjects. "And as I know my own heart to be "entirely English (continued she) I can very sin- "cerely assure you, there is not any thing you can "expect or desire from me, which I shall not be "ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of "England; and you shall always find me a strict "and religious observer of my word." These assurances were extremely agreeable to the Parliament; and she received the thanks of both Houses. Addresses of congratulation were presented by the bishop and clergy of London: by the Dissenters in and about that city; and by all the counties, cities, towns, and corporations of England. She declared her attachment to the Church: she promised her protection to the Dissenters; and received

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BOOK I. the compliments of all her subjects with such affability as insured their affection.

1701. §. II. William's death was no sooner known at the Hague, than all Holland was filled with consternation. The States immediately assembled, and, for some time, gazed at each other in silent fear and astonishment. They sighed, wept, and interchanged embraces and vows, that they would act with unanimity, and expend their dearest blood in defence of their country. Then they dispatched letters to the cities and provinces, informing them of this unfortunate event, and exhorting them to union and perseverance. The express from England having brought the Queen's speech to her Privy-Council, it was translated and published, to revive the drooping spirits of the people. Next day Pensionary Fagel imparted to the States of Holland a letter which he had received from the Earl of Marlborough, containing assurances, in the Queen's name, of union and assistance. In a few days, the Queen wrote a letter in the French language to the States, confirming these assurances: it was delivered by Mr. Stanhope, whom she had furnished with fresh credentials as Envoy from England. Thus animated, the States resolved to prosecute vigorous measures: their resolutions were still more inspirited by the arrival of the Earl of Marlborough, whom the Queen honoured with the order of the garter, and invested with the character of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-General: he was likewise declared Captain-General of her forces both at home and abroad. He assured the States, that her Britannick Majesty would maintain the alliances which had been concluded by the late King, and do every thing that the common concerns of Europe required. The speech was answered by Dickvelt, president of the week, who, in the name of the States, expressed their hearty thanks to her Majesty, and their resolutions of concurring

curring with her in a vigorous prosécution of the common interest. CHAP. VII.

§ III. The importance of William's life was evinced by the joy that diffused itself through the kingdom of France, at the news of his decease. The person who first brought the tidings to Calais was imprisoned by the Governor, until his information was confirmed. The Court of Versailles could hardly restrain their transports so as to preserve common decorum: the people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event: all decency was laid aside at Rome, where this incident produced such indecent raptures, that Cardinal Grimani, the Imperial minister, complained of them to the Pope, as an insult on his master the Emperor, who was William's friend, confederate, and ally. The French King dispatched credentials to Barre, whom the Count D'Avaux had left at the Hague to manage the affairs of France, together with instructions to renew the negociation with the States, in hope of detaching them from the alliance. This minister presented a memorial implying severe reflections on King William, and the past conduct of the Dutch; and insinuating, that now they had recovered their liberty, the Court of France hoped they would consult their true interest. The Count de Goes, Envoy from the Emperor, animadverted on these expressions in another memorial, which was likewise published: the State produced in publick an answer to the same remonstrance, expressing their resentment at the insolence of such insinuations, and their veneration for the memory of their late Stadtholder. The Earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negociation. He animated the Dutch to a full exertion of their vigour: he concerted the operations of the campaign: he agreed with the States-General and the Imperial minister, that war should be declared against France on the same day, at Vienna, London, and the Hague: 1701.

BOOK I. and on the third of April embarked for England, after having acquired the entire confidence of those who governed the United Provinces.

An. 1702. § IV. By this time the House of Commons in England had settled the civil list upon the Queen for her life. When the bill received the royal assent, she assured them that one hundred thousand pounds of this revenue should be applied to the publick service of the current year: at the same time, she passed another bill for receiving and examining the publick accounts. A commission for this purpose was granted in the preceding reign, but had been for some years discontinued; and, indeed, always proved ineffectual to detect and punish those individuals who shamefully pillaged their country. The villany was so complicated, the vice so general, and the delinquents so powerfully screened by artifice and interest, as to elude all enquiry. On the twenty-fourth day of March the oath of abjuration was taken by the Speaker and members, according to an act for the further security of her Majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales. The Queen's inclination to the Tories plainly appeared in her choice of ministers. Doctor John Sharp, Archbishop of York, became her ghostly director and counsellor in all ecclesiastical affairs. The Earl of Rochester was continued Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a great share of her Majesty's confidence: the privy-seal was entrusted to the Marquis of Normanby: the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were appointed Secretaries of State: the Earl of Abingdon, Viscount Weymouth, Lord Dartmouth, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Grenville, Howe, Gower, and Harcourt, were admitted as members of the Privy-Council, together with Sir Edward Seymour, now declared Comptroller of the Household. The Lord Godol-

phin

phin declined accepting the office of Lord High-Treasurer, until he was over-ruled by the persuasions of Marlborough, to whose eldest daughter his son was married. This nobleman refused to command the forces abroad, unless the Treasury should be put into the hands of Godolphin, on whose punctuality in point of remittances he knew he could depend. George, Prince of Denmark, was invested with the title of Generalissimo of all the Queen's forces by sea and land; and afterwards created Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Pembroke having been dismissed from this office with the offer of a large pension, which he generously refused. Prince George, as Admiral, was assisted by a council, consisting of Sir George Rooke, Sir David Mitchel, George Churchill, and Richard Hill. Though the legality of this board was doubted, the Parliament had such respect and veneration for the Queen, that it was suffered to act without question.

§ V. A rivalship for the Queen's favour already appeared between the Earls of Rochester and Marlborough. The former, as first cousin to the Queen, and chief of the Tory faction, maintained considerable influence in the council: but even there the interest of his rival predominated. Marlborough was not only the better courtier, but by the canal of his countess, actually directed the Queen in all her resolutions. Rochester proposed in council, that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and act as auxiliaries only. He was seconded by some other members: but the opinion of Marlborough preponderated. He observed, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late King's engagements; and affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless the English would enter as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was supported by the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke, and the majority of the council. The

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Queen being resolved to declare war, communicated her intention to the House of Commons, by whom it was approved: and on the fourth day of May the declaration was solemnly proclaimed. The King of France was, in this proclamation, taxed with having taken possession of great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe, and obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; with having offered an unpardonable insult to the Queen and her throne, by taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The three declarations of the Emperor, England, and the States-General, which were published in one day, did not fail to disconcert, as well as to provoke, the French monarch. When his minister De Torcy recited them in his hearing, he spoke of the Queen with some acrimony; but with respect to the States-General, he declared with great emotion, that "Messieurs the Dutch merchants should one "day repent of their insolence and presumption, "in declaring war against so powerful a Monarch;" he did not, however, produce his declaration till the third day of July.

§ VI. The House of Commons, in compliance with the Queen's desire, brought in a bill, empowering her Majesty to name commissioners to treat with the Scots for an union of the two kingdoms. It met with warm opposition from Sir Edward Seymour, and other Tory members, who discharged abundance of satire and ridicule upon the Scottish nation: but the measure seemed so necessary at that juncture, to secure the Protestant succession against the practices of France, and the claims of the Pretender, that the majority espoused the bill, which passed through both Houses, and on the sixth day of May received the royal assent, together with some bills of less importance. The enemies of the late King continued to revile his

memory*. They even charged him with having formed a design of excluding the Princess Anne from the throne, and of introducing the Elector of Hanover as his own immediate successor. This report had been so industriously circulated, that it began to gain credit all over the kingdom. Several Peers interested themselves in William's character; and a motion was made in the Upper House, that the truth of this report should be inquired into. The House immediately desired that those Lords who had visited the late King's papers would intimate whether or not they had found any among them relating to the Queen's succession, or to the succession of the House of Hanover. They forthwith declared, that nothing of that sort appeared. Then the House resolved, That the report was groundless, false, villainous, and scandalous; to the dishonour of the late King's memory, and highly tending to the disservice of her present Majesty, whom they besought to give order that the authors or publishers of such scandalous reports should be prosecuted by the Attorney General. The same censure was passed upon some libels and pamphlets, tending to inflame the factions of the kingdom, and to propagate a spirit of irreligion†. On the twenty-first day of May, the Commons, in an address, advised her Majesty to engage the Emperor, the States-General, and her other allies, to join with her in prohibiting all intercourse with France and Spain; and to concert such methods with the States-General

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* In their hours of debauch they drank to the health of Sorrel, meaning the horse that fell with the King; and, under the appellation of the little gentleman in velvet, toasted the mole that raised the hill over which the horse had stumbled. As the beast had formerly belonged to Sir John Fenwick, they insinuated that William's fate was a judgment upon him, for his cruelty to that gentleman; and a Latin epigram was written on the occasion.

† Doctor Binkes, in a sermon preached before the Convocation, on the thirtieth day of January, drew a parallel between the sufferings of Christ and those of King Charles, to which last he gave the preference, in point of right, character, and station.

as

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as might most effectually secure the trade of her subjects and allies. The Lords presented another address, desiring the Queen would encourage her subjects to equip privateers, as the preparations of the enemy seemed to be made for a piratical war; to the interruption of commerce: they likewise exhorted her Majesty to grant commissions or charters to all persons who should make such acquisitions in the Indies, as she in her great wisdom should judge most expedient for the good of her kingdoms. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the Queen having passed several publick and private bills*, dismissed the Parliament by prorogation, after having, in a short speech, thanked them for their zeal, recommended unanimity, and declared she would carefully preserve and maintain the act of toleration.

§ VII. In Scotland a warm contest arose between the Revolutioners and those in the opposition, concerning the existence of the present Parliament. The Queen had signified her accession to the throne, in a letter to her Privy-Council for Scotland; desiring they would continue to act in that office, until she should send a new commission. Mean while, she authorised them to publish a proclamation, ordaining all offices of state, counsellors, and magistrates, to act in all things conformably to the commissions and instructions of his late Majesty, until new commissions should be prepared. She likewise assured them of her firm resolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties, and in the established government of the church. She had already, in presence of twelve Scottish counsellors, taken the

* During this short session, the Queen gave her assent to an act for laying a duty upon land; to another for encouraging the Greenland trade; to a third for making good the deficiencies and the publick credit; to a fourth for continuing the imprisonment of Counter, and other conspirators against King William; to a fifth for the relief of Protestant purchasers of the forfeited estates of Ireland; to a sixth enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration; to a seventh obliging the Jews to maintain and provide for their Protestant children.

coronation-

coronation-oath for that kingdom: but those who wanted to embroil the affairs of their country affirmed that this was an irregular way of proceeding, and that the oath ought to have been tendered by persons deputed for that purpose, either by the Parliament or the Privy-Council of the kingdom. The present ministry, consisting of the Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Seafield, Hyndford and Selkirk, were devoted to Revolution principles, and desirous that the Parliament should continue, in pursuance of a late act for continuing the Parliament that should be then in being, six months after the death of the King; and that it should assemble in twenty days after that event. The Queen had, by several adjournments; deferred the meeting almost three months after the King's decease: and therefore, the Anti-revolutioners affirmed that it was dissolved. The Duke of Hamilton was at the head of this party, which clamoured loudly for a new Parliament. This nobleman, together with the Marquis of Tweedale, the Earls Marshal and Rothes, and many other noblemen, repaired to London, in order to make the Queen acquainted with their objections to the continuance of the present Parliament. She admitted them to her presence, and calmly heard their allegations: but she was determined by the advice of her Privy-Council for that kingdom, who were of opinion that the nation was in too great a ferment to hazard the convocation of a new Parliament. According to the Queen's last adjournment, the Parliament met at Edinburgh on the ninth day of June, the Duke of Queensberry having been appointed High-Commissioner. Before the Queen's commission was read, the Duke of Hamilton, for himself and his adherents, declared their satisfaction at her Majesty's acccession to the throne, not only on account of her undoubted right by descent, but likewise because of her many personal virtues and royal qualities. He said they were resolved

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to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of her Majesty's right against all her enemies whatever: but, at the same time, they thought themselves bound in duty to give their opinion, that they were not warranted by law to sit and act as a Parliament. He then read a paper to the following effect: that forasmuch as, by the fundamental laws and constitution of this kingdom, all Parliaments do dissolve on the death of their Sovereign, except in so far as innovated by an act in the preceding reign, that the Parliament in being at his Majesty's decease should meet, and act what might be needful for the defence of the true Protestant religion as by law established, and for the maintenance of the succession of the Crown, as settled by the claim of right, and for the preservation and security of the public peace: and seeing these ends are fully answered by her Majesty's succession to the throne; we conceive ourselves not now warranted by law to meet, sit, or act; and, therefore do dissent from any thing that shall be done or acted. The Duke having recited this paper, and formally protested against the proceedings of the Parliament, withdrew with seventy-nine members amidst the acclamations of the people.

§ VIII. Notwithstanding their secession, the Commissioner who retained a much greater number, produced the Queen's letter, signifying her resolution to maintain and protect her subjects in the full possession of their religion, laws, liberties, and the Presbyterian discipline. She informed them of her having declared war against France; she exhorted them to provide competent supplies for maintaining such a number of forces as might be necessary for disappointing the enemy's designs, and preserving the present happy settlement; and she earnestly recommended to their consideration an union of the two kingdoms. The Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Marchmont having enforced the different articles of this letter, committees were appointed for

for the security of the kingdom, for controverted elections, for drawing up an answer to her Majesty's letter, and for revising the minutes. Mean while, the Duke of Hamilton and his adherents sent the Lord Blantyre to London, with an address to the Queen, who refused to receive it, but wrote another letter to the Parliament, expressing her resolution to maintain their dignity and authority against all opposers. They in answer to the former, had assured her, that the groundless secession of some members should increase and strengthen their care and zeal for her Majesty's service. They expelled Sir Alexander Bruce, for having given vent to some reflections against Presbytery. The Lord Advocate prosecuted the Faculty of Advocates before the Parliament, for having passed a vote among themselves in favour of the protestation and address of the dissenting members. The Faculty was severely reprimanded: but the whole nation seemed to resent the prosecution. The Parliament passed an act for recognizing her Majesty's royal authority: another for adjourning the court of judicature called the session: a third declaring this meeting of Parliament legal; and forbidding any person to disown, quarrel with, or impugn the dignity and authority thereof, under the penalty of high treason: a fourth for securing the true Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government: a fifth for a land tax: and a sixth enabling her Majesty to appoint Commissioners for an union between the two kingdoms.

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§ IX. The Earl of Marchmont, of his own accord, and even contrary to the advice of the High-Commissioner, brought in a bill for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales: but this was not supported by the Court party, as the Commissioner had no instructions how to act on the occasion. Perhaps the Queen and her English ministry resolved to keep the succession open in Scotland, as a check upon the Whigs and House of Hanover. On the thirtieth day

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day of June, the Commissioner adjourned the Parliament after having thanked them for their chearfulness and unanimity in their proceedings; and the chiefs of the opposite parties hastened to London, to make their different representations to the Queen and her ministry. In the mean time she appointed Commissioners for treating about the union; and they met at the Cockpit on the twenty-second day of October. On the twentieth day of the next month, they adjusted preliminaries, importing, that nothing agreed on among themselves should be binding, except ratified by her Majesty and the respective Parliaments of both nations; and that, unless all the heads proposed for the treaty were agreed to, no particular thing agreed on should be binding. The Queen visited them in December, in order to quicken their mutual endeavours. They agreed, that the two kingdoms should be inseparably united into one monarchy, under her Majesty, her heirs, and successors, and under the same limitations, according to the acts of settlement: but, when the Scottish Commissioners proposed, that the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies, should be preserved and maintained, such a difficulty arose as could not be surmounted, and no further progress was made in this commission. The tranquillity of Ireland was not interrupted by any new commotion. That kingdom was ruled by Justices whom the Earl of Rochester had appointed; and the trustees for the forfeited estates maintained their authority.

§ X. While Britain was engaged in these civil transactions, her allies were not idle on the Continent. The old Duke of Zell, and his nephew, the Elector of Brunswick, surprised the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their attachments to France, and concur in the common councils of the Empire. Thus the north of Germany was re-united to the interests of the

the Confederates; and the Princes would have been in a condition to assist them effectually, had not the neighbourhood of the war in Poland deterred them from parting with their forces. England and the States-General endeavoured in vain to mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Poland. Charles was become enamoured of war, and ambitious of conquest. He threatened to invade Saxony through the dominions of Prussia. Augustus retired to Cracow, while Charles penetrated to Warsaw, and even ordered the Cardinal-Primate to summon a diet for choosing a new King. The situation of affairs at this juncture was far from being favourable to the Allies. The Court of Vienna had tampered in vain with the Elector of Bavaria, who made use of this negociation to raise his terms with Louis. His brother, the Elector of Cologn, admitted French garrisons into Liege, and all his places on the Rhine. The Elector of Saxony was too hard pressed by the King of Sweden, to spare his full proportion of troops to the Allies; the King of Prussia was over-awed by the vicinity of the Swedish conqueror: the Duke of Savoy had joined his forces to those of France, and over-run the whole state of Milan; and the Pope, though he professed a neutrality, evinced himself strongly biassed to the French interests.

§ XI. The war was begun in the name of the Elector-Palatine with the siege of Keiserswaert, which was invested in the month of April by the Prince of Nassau-Saarburgh, Mareschal-du-camp to the Emperor: under this officer the Dutch troops served as auxiliaries, because war had not yet been declared by the States-General. The French garrisons made a desperate defence. They worsted the besiegers in divers sallies, and maintained the place until it was reduced to a heap of ashes. At length the Allies made a general attack upon the counterscarp and ravelin, which they carried after a very obstinate engagement, with the loss of two thousand men. Then

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the garrison capitulated on honourable terms, and the fortifications were razed. During this siege, which lasted from the eighteenth day of April to the middle of June, Count Tallard posted himself on the opposite side of the Rhine, from whence he supplied the town with fresh troops and ammunition, and annoyed the besiegers with his artillery; but finding it impossible to save the place, he joined the grand army, commanded by the Duke of Burgundy in the Netherlands. The siege of Keiserswaert was covered by a body of Dutch troops under the Earl of Athlone, who lay encamped in the Duchy of Cleve. Mean while General Coehorn, at the head of another detachment, entered Flanders, demolished the French lines between the forts of Donat and Isabello, and laid the chatellanie of Bruges under contribution: but a considerable body of French troops advancing under the Marquis de Bedmar, and the Count de la Motte, he overflowed the country, and retired under the walls of Sluys. The Duke of Burgundy, who had taken the command of the French army under Boufflers, encamped at Zanten, near Cleve, and laid a scheme for surprising Nimeguen; in which, however, he was baffled by the vigilance and activity of Athlone, who, guessing his design, marched thither, and encamped under the cannon of the town. In the beginning of June, Landau was invested by Prince Louis of Baden; in July, the King of the Romans arrived in the camp of the besiegers, with such pomp and magnificence as exhausted his father's treasury. On the ninth day of September, the citadel was taken by assault: and then the town surrendered.

§ XII. When the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Holland, the Earl of Athlone, in quality of Veldt mareschal, insisted upon an equal command with the English General; but the States obliged him to yield this point in favour of Marlborough, whom they declared Generalissimo of all their forces. In the

the beginning of July he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he soon assembled an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries; then he convoked a council of the general officers, to concert the operations of the campaign. On the sixteenth day of the month he passed the Maese, and encamped at Over-asselt, within two leagues and a half of the enemy, who had entrenched themselves between Goch and Gedap. He afterwards repassed the river below the Grave, and removed to Gravenbroeck, where he was joined by the British train of artillery from Holland. On the second day of August, he advanced to Petit Brugel, and the French retired before him, leaving Spanish Guelderland to his discretion. He had resolved to hazard an engagement, and issued orders accordingly: but he was restrained by the Dutch deputies, who were afraid of their own interest, in case the battle should have proved unfortunate. The Duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving the command to Boufflers, who lost the confidence of Louis by the ill success of this campaign. The deputies of the States-General having represented to the Earl of Marlborough the advantages that would accrue to Holland, from his dispossessing the enemy of the places they maintained in the Spanish Guelderland, by which the navigation of the Maese was obstructed, and the important town of Maestricht in a manner blocked up, he resolved to deliver them from such a troublesome neighbourhood. He detached General Schultz with a body of troops to reduce the town and castle of Werk, which were surrendered after a slight resistance. In the beginning of September, he undertook the siege of Venlo, which capitulated on the twenty-fifth day of the month, after fort St. Michael had been stormed and taken by Lord Cutts and

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and the English volunteers, among whom the young Earl of Huntingdon distinguished himself by very extraordinary acts of valour. Then the General invested Ruremonde, which he reduced after a very obstinate defence, together with the fort of Stevensuaert, situated on the same river. Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's success, retired towards Liege, in order to cover that city: but, at the approach of the Confederates, he retired with precipitation to Tongeren, from whence he directed his route towards Brabant, with a view to defend such places as the Allies had no design to attack: When the Earl of Marlborough arrived at Liege, he found the suberbs of St. Walburgh had been set on fire by the French garrison, who had retired to the citadel and the Chartreux. The Allies took immediate possession of the city; and in a few days opened the trenches against the citadel, which was taken by assault. On this occasion, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel charged at the head of the grenadiers, and was the first person who mounted the breach. Violani the Governor, and the Duke of Charost, were made prisoners. Three hundred thousand florins in gold and silver were found in the citadel, besides notes for above one million; drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. Immediately after this exploit, the garrison of the Chartreux capitulated on honourable terms, and were conducted to Antwerp. By the success of this campaign, the Earl of Marlborough raised his military character above all censure, and confirmed himself in the entire confidence of the States-General; who in the beginning of the season, had trembled for Nimeguen, and now saw the enemy driven back into their own domains.

§ XIII. When the army broke up in November, the General repaired to Maestricht, from whence he proposed to return to the Hague by water. Accordingly

cordingly he embarked in a large boat, with five-and-twenty soldiers, under the command of a Lieutenant. Next morning he was joined at Ruremonde by Coehorn, in a large vessel, with sixty men; and they were moreover escorted by fifty troopers, who rode along the bank of the river. The large boat outsailed the other, and the horsemen mistook their way in the dark. A French partizan, with five-and-thirty men from Guelders, who lurked among the rushes in wait for prey, seized the rope by which the boat was drawn, hauled it ashore, discharged their small arms and hand-grenades, then rushing into it secured the soldiers before they could put themselves in a posture of defence. The Earl of Marlborough was accompanied by General Opdam, and Mynheer Gueldermalsen, one of the deputies, who were provided with passports. The Earl had neglected this precaution; but recollecting he had an old passport for his brother General Churchill, he produced it without any emotion: and the partizan was in such confusion that he never examined the date. Nevertheless, he rifled their baggage, carried off the guard as prisoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. The Governor of Venlo receiving information that the Earl was surprised by a party, and conveyed to Guelders, immediately marched out with his whole garrison to invest that place. The same imperfect account being transmitted to Holland, filled the whole province with consternation. The States forthwith assembling, resolved that all their forces should march immediately to Guelders, and threaten the garrison of the place with the utmost extremities, unless they would immediately deliver the General. But before these orders could be dispatched, the Earl arrived at the Hague, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who already looked upon him as their saviour and protector.

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§ XIV.

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§ XIV. The French arms were not quite so unfortunate on the Rhine as in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria surprized the city of Ulm in Suabia, by a stratagem, and then declared for France, which had by this time complied with all his demands. The diet of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, were so incensed at his conduct at seizing the city of Ulm by perfidy, that they presented a memorial to his Imperial Majesty, requesting he would proceed against the Elector, according to the constitutions of the empire. They resolved, by a plurality of voices, to declare war in the name of the empire, against the French King and the Duke of Anjou, for having invaded several fiefs of the empire in Italy, the Archbishoprick of Cologn, and the Diocese of Liege: and they forbad the ministers of Bavaria and Cologn to appear in the general diet. In vain did these powers protest against their proceedings. The empire's declaration of war was published and notified, in the name of the diet, to the Cardinal of Limberg, the Emperor's Commissioner. Mean while the French made themselves masters of Neuburgh, in the circle of Suabia, while Louis Prince of Baden, being weakened by sending off detachments, was obliged to lie inactive in his camp near Fridlinguen. The French army was divided into two bodies, commanded by the Marquis de Villars and the Count de Guiscard; and the Prince, thinking himself in danger of being enclosed by the enemy, resolved to decamp. Villars immediately passed the Rhine, to fall upon him in his retreat, and an obstinate engagement ensuing, the Imperialists were overpowered by numbers. The Prince, having lost two thousand men, abandoned the field of battle to the enemy, together with his baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and retired towards Stauffen, without being pursued. The French army, even after they had gained the battle, were unaccountably seized with such a panick,

panick, that if the Imperial General had faced them with two Regiments, he would have snatched the victory from Villars, who was upon this occasion saluted Mareschal of France by the soldiers; and next day the town of Fredlinguen surrendered. The Prince being joined by some troops under General Thungen, and other reinforcements, resolved to give battle to the enemy; but Villars declined an engagement, and repassed the Rhine. Towards the latter end of October, Count Tallard, and the Marquis de Lomarie, with a body of eighteen thousand men, reduced Triers and Traerbach: on the other hand, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, with a detachment from the allied army at Liege, retook from the French the towns of Zinch, Lintz, Brisac, and Andernach. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XV. In Italy, Prince Eugene laboured under a total neglect of the Imperial court, where his enemies, on pretence of supporting the King of the Romans in his first campaign, weaned the Emperor's attention entirely from his affairs on the other side of the Alps, so that he left his best army to moulder away for want of recruits and reinforcements. The Prince, thus abandoned, could not prevent the Duke de Vendome from relieving Mantua, and was obliged to relinquish some other places he had taken. Philip King of Spain, being inspired with the ambition of putting an end to the war in this country, sailed in person for Naples, where he was visited by the Cardinal-legate, with a compliment from the Pope; yet he could not obtain the investiture of the kingdom from his Holiness. The Emperor, however, was so disgusted at the Embassy which the Pope had sent to Philip, that he ordered his ambassador at Rome to withdraw. Philip proceeded from Naples to Final, under convoy of the French fleet, which had brought him to Italy: Here he had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, who began to be alarmed at the prospect of the French King's being master of the Milanese: and,

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in a letter to the Duke de Vendome, he forbade him to engage Prince Eugene until he himself should arrive in the camp. Prince Eugene, understanding that the French army intended to attack Luzzara and Guastalla, passed the Po, with an army of about half the number of the enemy, and posted himself behind the dyke of Zero, in such a manner that the French were ignorant of his situation. He concluded, that on their arrival at the ground they had chosen, the horse would march out to forage, while the rest of the army would be employed in pitching tents, and providing for their refreshment. His design was to seize that opportunity of attacking them, not doubting that he should obtain a complete victory: but he was disappointed by mere accident. An Adjutant, with an advanced guard, had the curiosity to ascend the dyke, in order to view the country, when he discovered the Imperial infantry lying on their faces, and their horse in the rear, ranged in order of battle. The French Camp was immediately alarmed; and as the intermediate ground was covered with hedges, which obliged the assailants to defile, the enemy were in a posture of defence before the Imperialists could advance to action: nevertheless, the Prince attacked them with great vivacity, in hopes of disordering their line, which gave way in several places: but night interposing, he was obliged to desist; and in a few days the French reduced Luzzara and Guastalla. The Prince, however, maintained his post, and Philip returned to Spain, without having obtained any considerable advantage.

§ XVI. The French King employed all his artifice and intrigues in raising up new enemies against the Confederates. He is said to have bribed Count Mansfield, president of the council of war at Vienna, to with-hold the supplies from Prince Eugene in Italy. At the Ottoman Porte he had actually gained over the Visir, who engaged to renew the war

war with the Emperor. But the Mufti and all the other great officers were averse to this design, and the Visir fell a sacrifice to their resentment. Louis continued to embroil the kingdom of Poland by means of the Cardinal Primate. The young King of Sweden advanced to Lissau, where he defeated Augustus. Then he took possession of Cracow, and raised contributions: nor could he be persuaded to retreat, although the Muscovites and Lithuanians had ravaged Livonia, and even made an irruption into Sweden. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XVII. The operations of the combined squadrons at sea did not fully answer the expectation of the publick. On the twelfth day of May, Sir John Munden sailed with twelve ships, to intercept a French squadron appointed as a convoy to a new viceroy of Mexico, from Corunna to the West-Indies. On the twenty-eighth day of the month, he chased fourteen sail of French ships into Corunna. Then he called a council of war, in which it was agreed, that as the place was strongly fortified, and that seventeen of the enemy's ships of war rode at anchor in the harbour, it would be expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed to cruise in soundings for the protection of the trade. They returned accordingly, and being distressed by want of provisions, came into port, to the general discontent of the nation. For the satisfaction of the people, Sir John Munden was tried by a Court-Martial, and acquitted; but as this miscarriage had rendered him very unpopular, Prince George dismissed him from the service. We have already hinted, that King William had projected a scheme to reduce Cadiz, with intention to act afterwards against the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies. This design Queen Anne resolved to put in execution. Sir George Rooke commanded the fleet, and the Duke of Ormond

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was appointed General of the land-forces destined for this expedition. The combined squadrons amounted to fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, fire-ships, and smaller vessels; and the number of soldiers embarked was not far short of fourteen thousand. In the latter end of June the fleet sailed from St. Helen's: on the twelfth of August they anchored at the distance of two leagues from Cadiz. Next day the Duke of Ormond summoned the Duke of Brancaccio, who was governor, to submit to the House of Austria; but that officer answered, he would acquit himself honourably of the trust reposed in him by the King. On the fifteenth the Duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under cover of a smart fire from some frigates, and repulsed a body of Spanish cavalry; then he summoned the governor of Fort St. Catharine's to surrender; and received an answer, importing, that the garrison was prepared for his reception. A declaration was published in the Spanish language, intimating, that the Allies did not come as enemies to Spain; but only to free them from the yoke of France, and assist them in establishing themselves under the government of the House of Austria. These professions produced very little effect among the Spaniards, who were either cooled in their attachment to that family, or provoked by the excesses of the English troops. These having taken possession of Fort St. Catharine, and Port St. Mary's, instead of protecting, plundered the natives, notwithstanding the strict orders issued by the Duke of Ormond, to prevent this scandalous practice: even some general officers were concerned in the pillage. A battery was raised against Montagorda fort opposite to the Puntal: but the attempt miscarried, and the troops were reimbarked.

§ XVIII. Captain Hardy having been sent to water in Lagos bay, received intelligence that the galleons

galleons from the West-Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French squadron. He sailed immediately in quest of Sir George Rooke, who was now on his voyage back to England, and falling in with him on the sixth day of October, communicated the substance of what he had learned. Rooke immediately called a council of war, in which it was determined to alter their course, and attack the enemy at Vigo. He forthwith detached some small vessels for intelligence, and received a confirmation, that the galleons, and the squadron commanded by Chateau Renault, were actually in the harbour. They sailed thither, and appeared before the place on the eleventh day of October. The passage into the harbour was narrow, secured by batteries, forts and breast-works on each side: by a strong boom, consisting of iron chains, top-masts, and cables, moored at each end to a seventy-gun ship; and fortified within by five ships of the same strength lying athwart the channel, with their broad-sides to the offing. As the first and second rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the Admirals shifted their flags into smaller ships; and a division of five-and-twenty English and Dutch ships of the line with their frigates, fire-ships, and ketches, was destined for the service. In order to facilitate the attack, the Duke of Ormond landed with five-and-twenty hundred men, at the distance of six miles from Vigo, and took by assault a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour. The British ensign was no sooner seen flying at the top of this fort, than the ships advanced to the attack. Vice-Admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, crowding all his sail, ran directly against the boom, which was broken by the first shock: then the whole squadron entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ships and batteries. These last, however, were soon stormed and taken by the grenadiers who

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who had been landed. The great ships lay against the forts at each side of the harbour, which in a little time they silenced; though Vice-Admiral Hopson narrowly escaped from a fireship by which he was boarded. After a very vigorous engagement, the French, finding themselves unable to cope with such an adversary, resolved to destroy their ships and galleons, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned and ran ashore eight ships and as many advice-boats; but ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons. Though they had secured the best part of their plate and merchandise before the English fleet arrived, the value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was destroyed in six galleons that perished; and about half that value was brought off by the conquerors: so that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquisition to the Allies. Immediately after this exploit, Sir George Rooke was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes, and dismantle the fortifications, while Rooke returned in triumph to England.

§ XIX. The glory which the English acquired in this expedition was in some measure tarnished by the conduct of some officers in the West-Indies. Thither Admiral Benbow had been detached with a squadron of ten sail, in the course of the preceding year. At Jamaica he received intelligence, that Monsieur Du Casse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, and resolved to beat up to that island. At Leogane he fell in with a French ship of fifty guns, which her Captain ran ashore and blew up. He took several other vessels, and having alarmed Petit-Guavas, bore away for Donna Maria bay, where he understood that Du Casse had sailed for the coast of Carthagena. Benbow resolved to follow the

the same course, and on the nineteenth of August discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha, consisting of ten sail, steering along shore. He formed the line, and an engagement ensued, in which he was very ill seconded by some of his Captains. Nevertheless, the battle continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ships at the distance of three or four miles astern, except the Ruby, commanded by Captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with chase-guns. On the twenty-first these two ships engaged the French squadron; and the Ruby was so disabled, that the Admiral was obliged to send her back to Jamaica. Next day the Greenwich, commanded by Wade, was five leagues astern: and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather gage. On the twenty-third the Admiral renewed the battle with his single ship, unsustained by the rest of his squadron. On the twenty-fourth his leg was shattered by a chain-shot; notwithstanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largest ships of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four sail of the English squadron poured their broadsides into her, and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the signal for battle. Then the French bearing down upon the Admiral with their whole force, shot away his main top-sail-yard, and damaged his rigging in such a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and refit, while they took their disabled ship in tow. During this interval, he called a council of his Captains, and expostulated with them on their behaviour. They observed, that the French were very strong, and advised him to desist. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmost reluctance returned to Jamaica, having not only lost a leg, but also received a large wound on his face, and another on his arm, while he

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he in person attempted to board the French Admiral. Exasperated at the treachery of his Captains, he granted a commission to Rear-Admiral Whetstone, and other officers, to hold a Court-Martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson of the Pendennis, died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted, and sentenced to be shot: Constable of the Windsor, was cashiered and imprisoned: Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the Admiral's own Captain of the Breda, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow's command; but, as they behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other punishment than that of a provisional suspension. Captain Walton had likewise joined in the conspiracy, while he was heated with the fumes of intoxication; but he afterwards renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage until his ship was disabled. The boisterous manner of Benbow had produced this base confederacy. He was a rough seaman; but remarkably brave, honest, and experienced*. He took this miscarriage so much at heart that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the Bristol; and, on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board of the ship, by virtue of a dead warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. The same pre-

* When one of his Lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the Admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too, (replied the gallant Benbow) "but I had rather have lost them both than have seen this dishonour "brought upon the English nation. But, do you hear? If another "shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." When Du Casse arrived at Carthagena, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect:

"SIR,

"I had little hope on Monday last but to have supped in your "cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for "it. As for those cowardly Captains who deserted you, hang them up, "for, by God, they deserve it.

"Your's,

DU CASSE."

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caution had been taken in all the western ports, in order to prevent applications in their favour. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XX. During these transactions, the Queen seemed to be happy in the affection of her subjects. Though the continuance of the Parliament was limitted to six months after the King's decease, she dissolved it by proclamation before the term was expired: and issued writs for electing another, in which the Tory interest predominated. In the summer the Queen gave audience to the Count de Platens, Envoy-Extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover; then she made a progress with her husband to Oxford, Bath, and Bristol, where she was received with all the marks of the most genuine affection. The new Parliament meeting on the twentieth day of October, Mr. Harley was chosen Speaker. The Queen in her speech declared, she had summoned them to assist her in carrying on the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged. She desired the Commons would inspect the accounts of the public receipts and payments, that if any abuses had crept into the management of the finances, they might be detected, and the offenders punished. She told them that the funds assigned in the last Parliament had not produced the sums granted; and that deficiency was not supplied even by the hundred thousand pounds which she had paid from her own revenue for the publick service. She expressed her concern for the disappointment at Cadiz, as well as for the abuses committed at Port St. Mary's, which had obliged her to give directions for the strictest examination of the particulars. She hoped they would find time to consider of some better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and improve that manufacture, which she was determined to encourage. She professed a firm persuasion, that the affection of her subjects was the surest pledge of their duty and obedience. She promised to defend and maintain the church as by law established;

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established: and to protect her subjects in the full enjoyment of all their rights and liberties. She protested that she relied on their care of her; she said her interest and their's were inseparable; and that her endeavours should never be wanting to make them all safe and happy. She was presented with a very affectionate address from either House, congratulating her upon the glorious success of her arms, and those of her allies, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough: but that of the Commons was distinguished by an implicated reproach on the late reign, importing that the wonderful progress of her Majesty's arms under the Earl of Marlborough had signally "retrieved" the ancient honour and glory of the English nation. This expression had excited a warm debate in the House, in the course of which many severe reflections were made on the memory of King William. At length, the question was put, whether the word "Retrieved" should remain? and carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one hundred.

§ XXI. The strength of the Tories appeared in nothing more conspicuous than in their inquiry concerning controverted elections. The borough of Hindon, near Salisbury, was convicted of bribery, and a bill brought in for disfranchising the town: yet no vote passed against the person who exercised this corruption, because he happened to be a Tory. Mr. Howe was declared duly elected for Gloucestershire, though the majority of the electors had voted for the other candidate. Sir John Packington exhibited a complaint against the Bishop of Worcester and his son, for having endeavoured to prevent his election: the Commons having taken it into consideration, resolved that the proceedings of William Lord Bishop of Worcester, and his son, had been malicious, unchristian, and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of England. They voted an address to

the Queen, desiring her to move the father from the office of Lord-Almoner; and they ordered the Attorney General to prosecute the son, after his privilege as member of the convocation should be expired. A counter address was immediately voted, and presented by the Lords, beseeching her Majesty would not remove the Bishop of Worcester from the place of Lord-Almoner, until he should be found guilty of some crime by due course of law; as it was the undoubted right of every Lord of Parliament, and of every subject of England to have an opportunity to make his defence before he suffers any sort of punishment. The Queen said she had not as yet received any complaint against the Bishop of Worcester: but she looked upon it as her undoubted right to continue or displace any servant attending upon her own person, when she should think proper. The Peers having received this answer, unanimously resolved, that no Lord of their House ought to suffer any sort of punishment by any proceedings of the House of Commons, otherwise than according to the known and ancient rules and methods of Parliament. When the Commons attended the Queen with their address against the Bishop, she said she was sorry there was any occasion for such a remonstrance, and that the Bishop of Worcester should no longer continue to supply the place of her Almoner. This regard to their address was a flagrant proof of her partiality to the Tories, who seemed to justify her attachment by their compliance and liberality. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XXII. In deliberating on the supplies, they agreed to all the demands of the ministry. They voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land forces, to act in conjunction with those of the Allies. For the maintenance of these last, they granted eight hundred and thirty-three thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds; besides three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for guards and garrisons;

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garrisons; seventy thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pounds for ordnance: and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and forty-three pounds for subsidies to the Allies. Lord Shannon arriving with the news of the success at Vigo, the Queen appointed a day of thanksgiving for the signal success of her arms under the Earl of Marlborough, the Duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke; and, on that day, which was the twelfth of November, she went in state to St. Paul's church, attended by both Houses of Parliament. Next day the Peers voted the thanks of their House to the Duke of Ormond for his services at Vigo; and, at the same time, drew up an address to the Queen, desiring she would order the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings; a request with which her Majesty complied. Those two officers were likewise thanked by the House of Commons: Vice-Admiral Hopson was knighted, and gratified with a considerable pension. The Duke of Ormond, at his return from the expedition, complained openly of Rooke's conduct, and seemed determined to subject him to a publick accusation; but that officer was such a favourite among the Commons, that the Court was afraid to disoblige them by an impeachment, and took great pains to mitigate the Duke's resentment. This nobleman was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Rooke was admitted into the Privy-Council. A motion, however, being made in the House of Lords, that the Admiral's instructions and journals relating to the last expedition might be examined, a committee was appointed for that purpose, and prepared an unfavourable report: but it was rejected by a majority of the House; and they voted, That Sir George Rooke had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation.

§ XXIII.

§ XXIII. On the twenty-first day of November, the Queen sent a message to the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Hedges, recommending further provisions for the Prince her husband, in case he should survive her. This message being considered, Mr. Howe moved, That the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled on the Prince, in case he should survive her Majesty. No opposition was made to the proposal: but warm debates were excited by a clause in the bill, exempting the Prince from that part of the Act of Succession by which strangers, though naturalized, were rendered incapable of holding employments. This clause related only to those who should be naturalized in a future reign; and indeed was calculated as a restriction upon the House of Hanover. Many members argued against the clause of exemption, because it seemed to imply, from employments in the next reign, though already possessed of the right of natural-born subjects, a consequence plainly contradictory to the meaning of the act. Others opposed it, because the Lords had already resolved by a vote, That they would never pass any bill sent up from the Commons, to which a clause foreign to the bill should be tacked; and this clause they affirmed to be a tack, as an incapacity to hold employments was a circumstance altogether distinct from a settlement in money. The Queen expressed uncommon eagerness in behalf of this bill; and the Court influence was managed so successfully, that it passed through both Houses, though not without an obstinate opposition, and a formal protest by seven-and-twenty Peers.

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§ XXIV. The Earl of Marlborough, arriving in England about the latter end of November, received the thanks of the Commons for his great and signal services, which were so acceptable to the Queen, that she created him a Duke, gratified him with a pen-

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sion of five thousand pounds upon the revenue of the Post-Office, during his natural life; and, in a message to the Commons, expressed a desire that they would find some method to settle it on the heirs-male of his body. This intimation was productive of warm debates, during which Sir Christopher Musgrave observed, that he would not derogate from the Duke's eminent services; but he affirmed his Grace had been very well paid for them, by the profitable employments which he and his Duchess enjoyed. The Duke, understanding that the Commons were heated by the subject, begged her Majesty would rather forego her gracious message in his behalf, than create any uneasiness on his account, which might embarrass her affairs and be of ill consequence to the publick. Then she sent another message to the House, signifying, that the Duke of Marlborough had declined her interposition. Notwithstanding this declaration, the Commons in a body presented an address, acknowledging the eminent services of the Duke of Marlborough, yet expressing their apprehension of making a precedent to alienate the revenue of the Crown, which had been so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the late reign, and so lately settled and secured by her Majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness. The Queen was satisfied with their apology; but their refusal in all probability helped to alienate the Duke from the Tories, with whom he had been hitherto connected.

§ XXV. In the beginning of January, the Queen gave the House of Commons to understand, that the States-General had pressed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The Commons immediately resolved, That ten thousand men should be hired, as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the Allies; but on condition that an immediate stop should be put to all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain

Spain on the part of the States-General. The Lords presented an address to the Queen on the same subject, and to the same effect; and she owned that the condition was absolutely necessary for the good of the whole alliance. The Dutch, even after the declaration of war, had carried on a traffick with the French; and, at this very juncture, Louis found it impossible to make remittances of money to the Elector of Bavaria in Germany, and to his forces in Italy, except through the channel of English, Dutch, and Geneva merchants. The States-General, though shocked at the imperious manner in which the parliament of England prescribed their conduct, complied with the demand without hesitation, and published a prohibition of all commerce with the subjects of France and Spain. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XXVI. The Commons of this Parliament had nothing more at heart than a bill against occasional conformity. The Tories affected to distinguish themselves as the only true friends to the Church and Monarchy; and they hated the Dissenters with a mixture of spiritual and political disgust. They looked upon these last as an intruding sect, which constituted great part of the Whig faction that extorted such immense sums of money from the nation in the late reign, and involved it in pernicious engagements; from whence it had no prospect of deliverance. They considered them as encroaching schismaticks that disgraced and endangered the hierarchy; and those of their own communion who recommended moderation, they branded with the epithets of lukewarm Christians, betrayers, and apostates. They now resolved to approve themselves zealous sons of the Church, by seizing the first opportunity that was in their power to distress the Dissenters. In order to pave the way to this persecution, sermons were preached, and pamphlets were printed, to blacken the character of the sect, and inflame the popular resentment against them. On the fourth day

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day of November, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesley, were ordered by the House of Commons to bring in a bill for preventing occasional conformity. In the preamble, all persecution for conscience-sake was condemned: nevertheless, it enacted, That all those who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, or the magistracy of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of Dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day in which they continued to act in their employments after having been at any such meeting: they were also rendered incapable of holding any other employment, till after one whole year's conformity; and, upon a relapse, the penalties and time of incapacity were doubled. The promoters of the bill alledged, that an established religion and national church were absolutely necessary, when so many impious men pretended to inspiration, and deluded such numbers of the people: that the most effectual way to preserve this national church, would be the maintenance of the civil power in the hands of those who expressed their regard to the church in their principles and practice: that the Parliament, by the Corporation and Test-acts, thought they had raised a sufficient barrier to the hierarchy, never imagining that a set of men would rise up, whose consciences would be too tender to obey the laws, but hardened enough to break them: that, as the last reign began with an act in favour of Dissenters, so the Commons were desirous that in the beginning of her Majesty's auspicious government, an act should pass in favour of the Church of England; that this bill did not entrench on the Act of Toleration, or deprive the Dissenters of any privileges they enjoyed by law, or add any thing to the legal rights of the Church of England: that occasional conformity was an evasion of the law, by which the Dissenters might insinuate themselves into the management

ment of all corporations: that a separation from the Church, to which a man's conscience will allow him occasionally to conform, is a mere schism, which in itself was sinful, without the superaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence: that the toleration was intended only for the ease of tender consciences, and not to give a licence for occasional conformity: that conforming and non-conforming were contradictions; for nothing but a firm persuasion that the terms of communion required are sinful and unlawful could justify the one; and this plainly condemns the other. The members who opposed the bill argued, That the Dissenters were generally well affected to the present constitution: that to bring any real hardship upon them, or give rise to jealousies and fears at such a juncture, might be attended with dangerous consequences: that the toleration had greatly contributed to the security and reputation of the Church, and plainly proved, that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means for increasing the votaries of the Church, and diminishing the number of Dissenters; that the Dissenters could not be termed schismaticks without bringing a heavy charge upon the Church of England, which had not only tolerated such schism, but even allowed communion with the reformed Churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were more severe than those which the laws imposed on Papists, for assisting at the most solemn act of their religion: in a word, that toleration and tenderness had been always productive of peace and union, whereas persecution had never failed to excite disorder, and extend superstition. Many alterations and mitigations were proposed, without effect. In the course of the debates, the Dissenters were mentioned and reviled with great acrimony; and the bill passed the Lower House by virtue of a considerable majority.

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§ XXVII. The Lords, apprehensive that the Commons would tack it to some money-bill, voted, That the annexing any clause to a money-bill was contrary to the constitution of the English government, and the usage of Parliament. The bill met with a very warm opposition in the Upper House, where a considerable portion of the Whig interest still remained. These members believed that the intention of the bill was to model corporations, so as to eject all those who would not vote in elections for the Tories. Some imagined this was a preparatory step towards a repeal of the toleration; and others concluded that the promoters of the bill designed to raise such disturbances at home, as would discourage the Allies abroad, and render the prosecution of the war impracticable. The majority of the Bishops, and among these Burnet of Sarum, objected against it on the principles of moderation, and from motives of conscience. Nevertheless, as the Court supported this measure with its own power and influence, the bill made its way through the House, though not without alterations and amendments, which were rejected by the Commons. The Lower House pretended, that the Lords had no right to alter any fines and penalties that the Commons should fix in bills sent up for their concurrence, on the supposition, that those were matters concerning money, the peculiar province of the Lower House: the Lords ordered a minute enquiry to be made into all the rolls of Parliament since the reign of Henry the Seventh; and a great number of instances were found, in which the Lords had begun the clauses imposing fines and penalties, altered the penalties which had been fixed by the Commons, and even changed the uses to which they were applied. These precedents were entered in the books: but the Commons resolved to maintain their point without engaging in any dispute upon the subject. After warm debates, and a free conference between the two Houses,

Houses, the Lords adhered to their amendments, though this resolution was carried by a majority of one vote only: the Commons persisted in rejecting them; the bill miscarried, and both Houses published their proceedings by way of appeal to the nation*. A bill was now brought into the Lower House, granting another year's consideration to those who had not taken the oath abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales. The Lords added three clauses, importing, that those persons who should take the oath within the limited time might return to their benefices and employments, unless they should be already legally filled; that any person endeavouring to defeat the succession to the Crown, as now limited by law, should be deemed guilty of high-treason: and that the oath of abjuration should be imposed upon the subjects in Ireland. The Commons made some opposition to the first clause; but, at length, the question being put, Whether they should agree to the amendments, it was carried in the affirmative by one voice. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XXVIII. No object engrossed more time, or produced more violent debates, than did the enquiry into the publick accounts. The Commissioners appointed for this purpose pretended to have made great discoveries. They charged the Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaster-General of the army, with flagrant mismanagement. He acquitted himself in such a manner as screened him from all severity of punishment: nevertheless, they expelled him from the House for a high crime and misdemeanour, in misapplying several sums of the publick money; and he

* While this bill was depending, Daniel de Foe published a pamphlet intituled, "The shortest Way with the Dissenters; or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church." The piece was a severe satire on the violence of the Church party. The Commons ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common-hangman, and the author to be prosecuted. He was accordingly committed to Newgate, tried, condemned to pay a fine of two hundred pounds, and stand in the pillory.

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thought proper to resign his employment. A long address was prepared and presented to the Queen, attributing the national debt to mismanagement of the funds; complaining that the old methods of the Exchequer had been neglected; and that iniquitous frauds had been committed by the Commissioners of the prizes. Previous to this remonstrance, the House, in consequence of the report of the Committee, had passed several severe resolutions, particularly against Charles Lord Hallifax, Auditor of the receipt of the Exchequer, as having neglected his duty, and been guilty of a breach of trust. For these reasons, they actually besought the Queen, in an address, that she would give directions to the Attorney-General to prosecute him for the said offences; and she promised to comply with their request. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to examine all the observations which the Commissioners of Accounts had offered to both Houses. They ascribed the national debt to deficiencies in the funds: they acquitted Lord Hallifax, the Lords of the Treasury, and their officers, whom the Commons had accused; and represented these circumstances in an address to the Queen, which was afterwards printed with the vouchers to every particular. This difference blew up a fierce flame of discord between the two Houses, which manifested their mutual animosity in speeches, votes, resolutions, and conferences. The Commons affirmed, that no cognizance the Lords could take of the publick accounts would enable them to supply any deficiency, or appropriate any surplusage of the public money; that they could neither acquit nor condemn any person whatsoever, upon any enquiry arising originally in their own House; and that their attempt to acquit Charles Lord Hallifax was unparliamentary. The Lords insisted upon their right to take cognizance originally of all publick accounts: they affirmed, that

that in their resolutions, with respect to Lord Halli- CHAP.
fax, they had proceeded according to the rules of VII.
justice. They owned, however, that their resolu- 1702.
tions did not amount to any judgment or acquittal; but that finding a vote of the Commons reflected upon a member of their House, they thought fit to give their opinion in their legislative capacity. The Queen interposed by a message to the Lords, desiring they would dispatch the business in which they were engaged. The dispute continued even after this intimation: one conference was held after another, till at length both sides despaired of an accommodation. The Lords ordered their proceedings to be printed, and the Commons followed their example. On the twenty-seventh day of February the Queen, having passed all the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the Lord-Keeper to prorogue the Parliament, after having pronounced a speech, in the usual stile. She thanked them for their zeal, affection, and dispatch; declared, she would encourage and maintain the Church as by law established; desired they would consider some further laws for restraining the great license assumed for publishing scandalous pamphlets and libels; and assured them, that all her share of the prizes which might be taken in the war should be applied to the publick service. By this time the Earl of Rochester was entirely removed from the Queen's councils. Finding himself out-weighed by the interest of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, he had become sullen and intractable; and, rather than repair to his government of Ireland, chose to resign the office, which, as we have already observed, was conferred upon the Duke of Ormond, an accomplished nobleman, who had acquired great popularity by the success of the expedition to Vigo. The parties in the House of Lords were so nearly matched, that the Queen, in order to ascertain an undoubted majority

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in the next session, created four new Peers*, who had signalized themselves by the violence of their speeches in the House of Commons.

§ XXIX. The two houses of Convocation, which were summoned with the Parliament, bore a strong affinity with this assembly, by the different interests that prevailed in the upper and lower. The last, in imitation of the Commons, was desirous of branding the preceding reign; and it was with great difficulty that they concurred with the Prelates in an address of congratulation to her Majesty. Then their former contest was revived. The Lower House desired, in an application to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Suffragans, that the matters in dispute concerning the manner of synodical proceedings, and the right of the Lower House to hold intermediate assemblies, might be taken into consideration, and speedily determined. The Bishops proposed, that in the intervals of sessions, the Lower House might appoint committees to prepare matters; and when business should be brought regularly before them, the Archbishop would regulate the prorogations in such a manner, that they should have sufficient time to sit and deliberate on the subject. This offer did not satisfy the Lower House, which was emboldened to persist in its demand by a vote of the Commons. These, in consequence of an address of thanks from the Clergy, touching Mr. Lloyd, son to the Bishop of Worcester, whom they ordered to be prosecuted after his privilege as member of the Convocation should be expired, had resolved, that they would on all occasions assert the just rights and

* These were John Granville, created Baron Granville of Potheridge in the county of Devon; Heneage Finch, Baron of Guernsey in the county of Southampton; Sir John Leveson Gower, Baron Gower of Sittenham in Yorkshire; and Francis Seymour Conway, youngest son of Sir Edward Seymour, made Baron Conway of Ragley in the county of Warwick. At the same time, however, John Harvey, of the opposite faction, was created Baron of Ickworth in the county of Suffolk; and the Marquis of Normanby was honoured with the title of Duke of Buckinghamshire.

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privileges of the Lower House of Convocation. The Prelates refused to depart from the Archbishop's right of proroguing the whole Convocation with consent of his Suffragans. The Lower House proposed to refer the controversy to the Queen's decision. The Bishops declined this expedient, as inconsistent with the episcopal authority, and the presidence of the Archbishop. The Lower House having incurred the imputation of favouring Presbytery, by this opposition to the Bishops, entered in their books a declaration, acknowledging the order of Bishops, as superior to Presbyters, and to be a divine apostolical institution. Then they desired the Bishops, in an address, to concur in settling the doctrine of the divine apostolical right of Episcopacy, that it might be a standing rule of the Church. They likewise presented a petition to the Queen, complaining, that in the Convocation called in the year 1700, after an interruption of ten years, several questions having arisen concerning the rights and liberties of the Lower House, the Bishops had refused a verbal conference; and afterwards declined a proposal to submit the dispute to her Majesty's determination: they, therefore, fled for protection to her Majesty, begging she would call the question into her own royal audience. The Queen promised to consider their petition, which was supported by the Earl of Nottingham; and ordered their Council to examine the affair, how it consisted with law and custom. Whether their report was unfavourable to the Lower House, or the Queen was unwilling to encourage the division, no other answer was made to their address. The Archbishop replied to their request presented to the Upper House, concerning the diving right of Presbytery, that the preface to the form of ordination contained a declaration of three orders of ministers from the times of the Apostles; namely, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to which they had subscribed: but he and his brethren conceived, that, without

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without a royal licence, they had not authority to attempt, enact, promulge, or execute any canon, which should concern either doctrine or discipline. The Lower House answered this declaration in very petulant terms; and the dispute subsisted when the Parliament was prorogued. But these contests produced divisions through the whole body of the Clergy, who ranged themselves in different factions, distinguished by the names of High-church and Low-church. The first consisted of ecclesiastical Tories; the other included those who professed Revolution principles, and recommended moderation towards the Dissenters. The High-church party reproached the other as time-servers, and Presbyterians in disguise; and were in their turn, stigmatised as the friends and abettors of tyranny and persecution. At present, however, the Tories both in Church and State triumphed in the favour of their Sovereign. The right of Parliaments, the memory of the late King, and even the act limiting the succession of the House of Hanover, became the subjects of ridicule. The Queen was flattered as possessor of the prerogatives of the ancient monarchy: the history written by her grandfather, the Earl of Clarendon, was now for the first time published, to inculcate the principles of obedience, and inspire the people with an abhorrence of opposition to an anointed Sovereign. Her Majesty's hereditary right was deduced from Edward the Confessor, and, as heir of his pretended sanctity and virtue, she was persuaded to touch persons afflicted with the King's Evil, according to the office inserted in the Liturgy for this occasion.

§ XXX. The change of the ministry in Scotland seemed favourable to the Episcopalians and Anti-Revolutioners of that kingdom. The Earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford, were laid aside: the Earl of Seafield was appointed Chancellor: the Duke of Queensberry, and the Lord Viscount

count Tarbat, were declared Secretaries of State: the Marquis of Annandale was made President of the Council, and the Earl of Tallibardin Lord Privy-Seal. A new Parliament having been summoned, the Earl of Seafield employed his influence so successfully, that a great number of Anti-Revolutioners were returned as members. The Duke of Hamilton had obtained from the Queen a letter to the Privy-Council in Scotland, in which she expressed her desire that the Presbyterian clergy should live in brotherly love and communion with such dissenting ministers of the reformed religion as were in possession of benefices, and lived with decency, and submission to the law. The episcopal clergy, encouraged by these expressions in their favour, drew up an address to the Queen, imploring her protection; and humbly beseeching her to allow those parishes in which there was a majority of episcopal freeholders to bestow the benefice on ministers of their principles. This petition was presented by Dr. Skeen and Dr. Scott, who were introduced by the Duke of Queensberry to her Majesty. She assured them of her protection and endeavours to supply their necessities; and exhorted them to live in peace and Christian love with the clergy, who were by law invested with the church-government in her ancient kingdom of Scotland. A proclamation of indemnity having been published in March, a great number of Jacobites returned from France and other countries, pretended to have changed their sentiments, and took the oaths, that they might be qualified to sit in Parliament. They formed an accession to the strength of the Anti-Revolutioners and Episcopalians, who now hoped to out-number the Presbyterians, and outweigh their interest. But this confederacy was composed of dissonant parts, from which no harmony could be expected. The Presbyterians and Revolutioners were headed by the Duke of Argyle. The Country-party of malcontents, which took its rise from the disappointments

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pointments of the Darien settlement, acted under the auspices of the Duke of Hamilton and Marquis of Tweedale; and the Earl of Hume appeared as chief of the Anti-Revolutioners. The different parties, who now united, pursued the most opposite ends. The majority of the Country-party were friends to the Revolution, and sought only redress of the grievances which the nation had sustained in the late reign. The Anti-revolutioners considered the accession and government of King William as an extraordinary event, which they were willing to forget, believing that all parties were safe under the shelter of her Majesty's general indemnity. The Jacobites submitted to the Queen, as tutrix or regent for the Prince of Wales, whom they firmly believed she intended to establish on the throne. The Whigs under Argyle, alarmed at the coalition of all their enemies, resolved to procure a parliamentary sanction for the Revolution.

1702. Tindal. Lochart's Mem. Lives of the Admirals. Hist. of the Duke of Marlborough. Duchess of Marlborough's Apol.

An. 1703. § XXXI. The Parliament being opened on the sixth day of May at Edinburgh, by the Duke of Queensberry as commissioner, the Queen's letter was read, in which she demanded a supply for the maintenance of the forces, advised them to encourage trade, and exhorted them to proceed with wisdom, prudence, and unanimity. The Duke of Hamilton immediately offered the draft of a bill for recognizing her Majesty's undoubted right and title to the Imperial Crown of Scotland, according to the declaration of the estates of the kingdom, containing the claim of right. It was immediately received; and, at the second reading, the Queen's Advocate offered an additional clause, denouncing the penalties of treason against any person who should question her Majesty's right and title to the Crown, or her exercise of the government, from her actual entry to the same. This, after a long and warm debate, was carried by the concurrence of the Anti-Revolutioners. Then the Earl of Hume produced the draft of a bill for

for the supply: immediately after it was read, the Marquis of Tweedale made an overture, that, before all other business, the Parliament would proceed to make such conditions of government, and regulations in the constitution of the kingdom, to take place after the decease of her Majesty and the heirs of her body, as should be necessary for the preservation of their religion and liberty. This overture and the bill were ordered to lie upon the table; and, in the mean time, the Commissioner found himself involved in great perplexity. The Duke of Argyle, the Marquis of Annandale, and the Earl of Marchmont, gave him to understand in private, that they were resolved to move for an act, ratifying the Revolution; and for another, confirming the Presbyterian government: that they would insist upon their being discussed before the bill of supply, and that they were certain of carrying the points at which they aimed. The Commissioner now found himself reduced to a very disagreeable alternative. There was a necessity for relinquishing all hope of a supply, or abandoning the Anti-Revolutioners, to whom he was connected by promises of concurrence. The Whigs were determined to oppose all schemes of supply that should come from the Cavaliers; and these last resolved to exert their whole power in preventing the confirmation of the Revolution and the Presbyterian discipline. He foresaw that on this occasion the Whigs would be joined by the Duke of Hamilton and his party, so as to preponderate against the Cavaliers. He endeavoured to cajole both parties; but found the task impracticable. He desired in Parliament, that the act for the supply might be read, promising that they should have full time afterwards to deliberate on other subjects. The Marquis of Tweedale insisted upon his overture; and after warm debates, the House resolved to proceed with such acts as might be necessary for securing the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, before any

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any bill for supply or other business should be discussed. The Marquis of Athol offered an act for the security of the kingdom, in case of her Majesty's decease: but, before it was read, the Duke of Argyle presented his draft of a bill for ratifying the Revolution, and all the acts following thereupon. An act for limiting the succession after the death of her Majesty, and the heirs of her body, was produced by Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun. The Earl of Rothes recommended another, importing, that, after her Majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person coming to the Crown of Scotland, being at the same time King or Queen of England, should as King or Queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the consent of Parliament. The Earl of Marchmont recited the draft of an act for securing the true Protestant religion and Presbyterian government: one was also suggested by Sir Patrick Johnson, allowing the importation of wines, and other foreign liquors. All these bills were ordered to lie on the table. Then the Earl of Strathmore produced an act for toleration to all Protestants in the exercise of religious worship. But against this the general assembly presented a most violent remonstrance; and the promoters of the bill foreseeing that it would meet with great opposition, allowed it to drop for the present. On the third day of June, the Parliament passed the act for preserving the true reformed Protestant religion, and confirming Presbyterian church government, as agreeable to the word of God, and the only government of Christ's church within the Kingdom. The same party enjoyed a further triumph in the success of Argyle's act, for ratifying and perpetuating the first act of King William's Parliament: for declaring it high treason to disown the authority of that Parliament, or to alter or renovate the claim of right, or any article thereof. This last clause was strenuously opposed; but at last the bill passed, with the concurrence

rence of all the ministry, except the Marquis of Athol and the Viscount Tarbot, who began at this period to correspond with the opposite party. CHAP. VII. 1703.

§ XXXII. The Cavaliers thinking themselves betrayed by the Duke of Queensberry, who had assented to these acts, first expostulated with him on his breach of promise, and then renounced his interest, resolving to separate themselves from the Court, and jointly pursue such measures as might be for the interest of their party. But of all the bills that were produced in the course of this remarkable session, that which produced the most violent altercation was the act of security, calculated to abridge the prerogative of the Crown, limit the successor, and throw a vast additional power into the hands of the Parliament. It was considered paragraph by paragraph: many additions and alterations were proposed, and some adopted: inflammatory speeches were uttered; bitter sarcasms retorted from party to party; and different votes passed on different clauses. At length, in spite of the most obstinate opposition from the Ministry and the Cavaliers, it was passed by a majority of fifty-nine voices. The Commissioner was importuned to give it the royal assent; but declined answering their entreaties till the tenth day of September. Then he made a speech in Parliament, giving them to understand that he had received the Queen's pleasure, and was empowered to give the royal assent to all the acts voted in this session, except to the act for the security of the kingdom. A motion was made to solicit the royal assent in an address to her Majesty; but the question being put, it was carried in the negative by a small majority. On the sixth day of the same month, the Earl of Marchmont had produced a bill to settle the succession of the House of Hanover. At first the import of it was not known; but, when the clerk in reading it mentioned the Princess Sophia, the whole House was kindled into a flame. Some proposed

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that the overture should be burned: others moved that the Earl might be sent prisoner to the castle: and a general dissatisfaction appeared in the whole assembly. Not that the majority in Parliament were averse to the succession in the House of Hanover: but they resolved to avoid a nomination without stipulating conditions; and they had already provided in the act of security, that it should be high-treason to own any person as King or Queen after her Majesty's decease, until he or she should take the coronation oath, and accept the terms of the claim of right, and such conditions as should be settled in this or any ensuing Parliament.

§ XXXIII. Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, a man of undaunted courage and inflexible integrity, who professed republican principles, and seemed designed by nature as a member of some Grecian commonwealth, after having observed that the nation would be enslaved, should it submit, either willingly or by commission, to the successor of England, without such conditions of government as should secure them against the influence of an English ministry, offered the draft of an act, importing, That after the decease of her Majesty, without heirs of her body, no person being successor to the English throne should succeed to the Crown of Scotland, but under the following limitations, which, together with the coronation-oath and claim of right, they should swear to observe: namely, That all offices and places, civil and military, as well as pensions, should for the future be conferred by a Parliament, to be chosen at every Michaelmas head-court, to sit on the first day of November, and adjourn themselves from time to time, till the ensuing Michaelmas: That they should choose their own president: That a committee of six-and-thirty members, chosen out of the whole Parliament, without distinction of estates, should, during the intervals of Parliament, be vested, under the King, with the ad-

ministration of the government, act as his council, be accountable to Parliament, and call it together on extraordinary occasions. He proposed that the successor should be nominated by the majority: declaring for himself that he would rather concur in nominating the most rigid Papist with those conditions than the truest Protestant without them. The motion was seconded by many members; and though postponed for the present, in favour of an act of trade under the consideration of the House, it was afterwards resumed with great warmth. In vain the Lord-Treasurer represented that no funds were as yet provided for the army, and moved for a reading of the act presented for that purpose: a certain member observed, that this was a very unseasonable juncture to propose a supply, when the House had so much to do for the security of the nation: he said they had very little encouragement to grant supplies, when they found themselves frustrated of all their labour and expence for these several months; and when the whole kingdom saw that supplies served for no other use but to gratify the avarice of some insatiable ministers. Mr. Fletcher expatiated upon the good consequences that would arise from the act which he had proposed. The Chancellor answered, That such an act was laying a scheme for a commonwealth, and tending to innovate the constitution of the monarchy. The ministry proposed a state of a vote, whether they should first give a reading to Fletcher's act or to the act of subsidy. The country-party moved that the question might be, "Overtures for subsidies, or "overtures for liberty." Fletcher withdrew his act, rather than people should pervert the meaning of laudable designs. The House resounded with the cry of "Liberty or Subsidy." Bitter invectives were uttered against the ministry. One member said it was now plain the nation was to expect no other return for their expence and toil, than that of being

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being loaded with a subsidy, and being obliged to bend their necks under the yoke of slavery, which was prepared for them from that throne: another observed, that as their liberties were suppressed, so the privileges of Parliament were like to be torn from them; but that he would venture his life in defence of his birthright, and rather die a free man than live a slave. When the vote was demanded, and declined by the Commissioner, the Earl of Roxburgh declared, that if there was no other way of obtaining so natural and undeniable a privilege of Parliament, they would demand it with their swords in their hands. The Commissioner, foreseeing this spirit of freedom and contradiction, ordered the foot-guard to be in readiness, and placed a strong guard upon the eastern gate of the city. Notwithstanding these precautions, he ran the risque of being torn in pieces; and, in this apprehension, ordered the Chancellor to inform the House, that the Parliament should proceed upon overtures for liberty at their next sitting. This promise allayed the ferment which had begun to rise. Next day the members prepared an overture, implying, That the elective members should be chosen for every seat at the Michaelmas head-courts: That a parliament should be held once in two years at least: That the short adjournments *de die in diem* should be made by the Parliaments themselves, as in England: and that no officer in the Army, Customs, or Excise, nor any gratuitous pensioner, should sit as an elective member. The Commissioner being apprised of their proceedings, called for such acts as he was empowered to pass, and having given the royal assent to them, prorogued the Parliament to the twelfth day of October*. Such was the issue of this remarkable session of the Scottish Parliament, in

* Though the Queen refused to pass the act of security, the Royal assent was granted to an act of limitation on the successor, in which it was declared, that no King or Queen of Scotland should have power to

in which the Duke of Queensberry was abandoned by the greatest part of the ministry; and such a spirit of ferocity and opposition prevailed, as threatened the whole kingdom with civil war and confusion. The Queen conferred titles upon those* who appeared to have influence in the nation, and attachment to her government, and revived the Order of the Thistle, which the late king had dropped. CHAP. VII. 1703.

§ XXXIV. Ireland was filled with discontent, by the behaviour and conduct of the trustees for the forfeited estates. The Earl of Rochester had contributed to foment the troubles of the kingdom, by encouraging the factions which had been imported from England. The Duke of Ormond was received with open arms, as heir to the virtues of his ancestors, who had been the bulwarks of the Protestant interest in Ireland. He opened the Parliament on the twenty-first day of September, with a speech to both Houses, in which he told them, that his inclination, his interest, and the examples of his progenitors, were indispensable obligations upon him, to improve every opportunity to the advantage and prosperity of his native country. The Commons having chosen Allen Broderick to be their Speaker, proceeded to draw up very affectionate

to make war or peace without consent of Parliament. Another law was enacted, allowing French wines and other liquors to be imported in neutral bottoms: Without this expedient, it was alledged that the revenue would have been insufficient to maintain the government. An Act passed in favour of the company trading to Africa and the Indies; another for a commission concerning the public accounts; a third for punishing slanderous speeches and writings. The commission for treating of an union with England was vacated, with a prohibition to grant any other commission for that purpose without consent of Parliament; and no supply having been provided before the adjournment, the army and expence of government were maintained upon credit.

* The Marquis of Athol, and the Marquis of Douglas, though this last was a minor, were created dukes: Lord Tarbat was invested with the title of Earl of Cromarty; the Viscounts Stair and Roseberry were promoted to the same dignity. Lord Boyle was created Earl of Glasgow; James Stewart, of Bute, Earl of Bute; Charles Hope, of Hopetoun, Earl of Hopetoun; John Crawford, of Kilbirnie, Viscount Garnock; and Sir James Primrose, of Carrington, Viscount Primrose.

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addresses to the Queen and the Lord-lieutenant. In that to the Queen they complained, that their enemies had misrepresented them, as desirous of being independent of the Crown of England: they, therefore, to vindicate themselves from such false aspersions, declared and acknowledged, that the kingdom of Ireland was annexed and united to the imperial Crown of England. In order to express their hatred of the trustees, they resolved, that all the Protestant freeholders of that kingdom had been falsely and maliciously misrepresented, traduced, and abused, in a book entitled, "The Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Irish Forfeitures;" and it appearing that Francis Annesley, member of the House, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, were authors of that book, they further resolved, that these persons had scandalously and maliciously misrepresented and traduced the Protestant freeholders of that kingdom, and endeavoured to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the people of England and the Protestants of Ireland. Annesley was expelled the House, Hamilton was dead, and Trenchard had returned to England. They had finished the enquiry before the meeting of this Parliament; and sold, at an under value, the best of the forfeited estates to the Sword-blade company of England. This, in a petition to the Irish parliament, prayed that heads of a bill be brought in for enabling them to take conveyance of lands in Ireland: but the Parliament was very little disposed to confirm the bargains of the trustees, and the petition lay neglected on the table. The House expelled John Asgill, who, as agent to the Sword-blade company, had offered to lend money to the publick in Ireland, on condition that the Parliament would pass an act to confirm the company's purchase of the forfeited estates. His constituents disowned his proposal; and when he was summoned to appear before

before the House, and answer for his prevarication, he pleaded his privilege, as member of the English Parliament. The Commons, in a representation of the state and grievances of the nation, gave her Majesty to understand, that the constitution of Ireland had been of late greatly shaken; and their lives, liberties, and estates, called into question, and tried in a manner unknown to their ancestors: that the expence to which they had been unnecessarily exposed by the late trustees for the forfeited estates, in defending their just rights and titles, had exceeded in value the current cash of the kingdom: that their trade was decayed, their money exhausted; and that they were hindered from maintaining their own manufactures: that many Protestant families had been constrained to quit the kingdom, in order to earn a livelihood in foreign countries: that the want of frequent Parliaments in Ireland had encouraged evil-minded men to oppress the subjects: that many civil officers had acquired great fortunes in that impoverished country, by the exercise of corruption and oppression: that others, in considerable employments, resided in another kingdom, neglecting personal attendance on their duty, while their offices were ill executed, to the detriment of the publick, and the failure of justice. They declared, that it was from her Majesty's gracious interposition alone they proposed to themselves relief from those their manifold grievances and misfortunes. The Commons afterwards voted the necessary supplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the necessary branches of the establishment. CHAP. VII. 1703.

§ XXXV. They appointed a committee to inspect the publick accounts, by which they discovered, that above one hundred thousand pounds had been falsely charged as a debt upon the nation. The committee was thanked by the House for having saved this sum, and ordered to examine what persons

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were concerned in such a misrepresentation, which was generally imputed to those who acted under the Duke of Ormond. He himself was a nobleman of honour and generosity, addicted to pleasure, and fond of popular applause: but he was surrounded by people of more sordid principles, who had ingratiated themselves into his confidence by the arts of adulation. The Commons voted a provision for the half-pay officers; and abolished pensions to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds a year, as unnecessary branches of the establishment. They passed an act settling the succession of the crown, after the pattern set them by England; but the most important transaction of this session was a severe bill to prevent the growth of popery. It bore a strong affinity to that which had passed three years before in England: but contained more effectual clauses. Among others, it enacted, that all estates of Papists should be equally divided among the children, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless the persons to whom they might be settled should qualify themselves by taking the oaths, and communicating with the Church of England. The bill was not at all agreeable to the ministry in England, who expected large presents from the Papists, by whom a considerable sum had been actually raised for this purpose. But, as they did not think proper to reject such a bill while the English Parliament was sitting, they added a clause which they hoped the Parliament of Ireland would refuse: namely, that no persons in that kingdom should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament, according to the Test-act passed in England. Though this was certainly a great hardship on the Dissenters, the Parliament of Ireland sacrificed this consideration to their common security against the Roman Catholicks, and accepted the amendment without hesitation. This affair being

ing discussed, the Commons of Ireland passed a vote against a book intituled, "Memoirs of the late King James II." as a seditious libel. They ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and the bookseller and printer to be prosecuted. When this motion was made, a member informed the House, that in the county of Limerick, the Irish Papists had begun to form themselves into bodies; to plunder the Protestants of their arms and money; and to maintain a correspondence with the disaffected in England. The House immediately resolved, that the Papists of the kingdom still retained hopes of the accession of the person known by the name of the Prince of Wales in the life-time of the late King James, and now by the name of James III. In the midst of this zeal against Popery and the Pretender, they were suddenly adjourned by the command of the Lord-Lieutenant, and broke up in great animosity against that nobleman*.

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§ XXXVI. The attention of the English ministry had been for some time chiefly engrossed by the affairs of the continent. The Emperor agreed with the Allies, that his son the Archduke Charles should assume the title of King of Spain, demand the Infanta of Portugal in marriage, and undertake something of importance, with the assistance of the maritime powers. Mr. Methuen, the English minister at Lisbon, had already made some progress in a treaty with his Portuguese Majesty; and the Court of Vienna promised to send such an army into the field as would in a little time drive the Elector of Bavaria from his dominions. But they were so dilatory in their preparations, that the French King broke all their measures, by sending powerful rein-

* They had besides the bills already mentioned, passed an act for an additional Excise on beer, ale, and other liquors: another encouraging the importation of iron and staves: a third for preventing Popish priests from coming into the kingdom: a fourth securing the liberty of the subject; and for prevention of imprisonment beyond seas: and a fifth for naturalizing all Protestant strangers.

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forcements to the Elector, in whose ability and attachment Louis reposed great confidence. Mareschal Villars, who commanded an army of thirty thousand men at Strasburg, passed the Rhine, and reduced fort Kehl, the garrison of which was conducted to Philipsburgh. The Emperor alarmed at this event, ordered Count Schlick to enter Bavaria on the side of Saltsburgh, with a considerable body of forces; and sent another under Count Stirum, to invade the same electorate by the way of Newmark, which was surrendered to him, after he had routed a party of Bavarians: the city of Amberg met with the same fate. Mean while Count Schlick defeated a body of militia that defended the lines of Saltsburgh, and made himself master of Riedt, and several other places. The Elector assembling his forces near Brenau, diffused a report that he intended to besiege Passau, to cover which place Schlick advanced with the greatest part of his infantry, leaving behind his cavalry and cannon. The Elector having by this feint divided the Imperialists, passed the bridge of Scardingen with twelve thousand men, and, after an obstinate engagement, compelled the Imperialists to abandon the field of battle: then he marched against the Saxon troops which guarded the artillery: and attacked them with such impetuosity, that they were entirely defeated. In a few days after these actions, he took Newburgh on the Inn by capitulation. He obtained another advantage over an advanced post of the Imperialists near Burgenfelt, commanded by the young Prince of Brandenburgh Anspach, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. He advanced to Ratisbon, where the Diet of the empire was assembled, and demanded that he should be immediately put in possession of the bridge and gate of the city. The Burghers immediately took to their arms, and planted cannon on the ramparts: but when they saw a battery erected against them, and the Elector determined to bombard

bard the place, they thought proper to capitulate, and comply with his demands. He took possession of the town on the eighth day of April, and signed an instrument obliging himself to withdraw his troops, as soon as the Emperor should ratify the Diet's resolution for the neutrality of Ratisbon. Mareschal Villars having received orders to join the Elector at all events, and being reinforced by a body of troops under Count Tallard, resolved to break through the lines which the Prince of Baden had made at Stolhoffen. This General had been luckily joined by eight Dutch battalions, and received the French army, though double his number, with such obstinate resolution, that Villars was obliged to retreat with great loss, and directed his route towards Offingen. Nevertheless, he penetrated through the Black-Forest, and effected a junction with the Elector. Count Stirum endeavoured to join Prince Louis of Baden: but being attacked near Schwemmingen, retired under the cannon of Nortlingen. CHAP. VII. 1703.

§. XXXVII. The Confederates were more successful on the Lower Rhine and in the Netherlands. The Duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in the beginning of April; and assembling the allied army, resolved that the campaign should be begun with the siege of Bonne, which was accordingly invested on the twenty-fourth day of April. Three different attacks were carried on against this place; one by the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel; another by the celebrated Coehorn; and a third by Lieutenant-General Fagel. The garrison defended themselves vigorously till the fourteenth day of May, when the fort having been taken by assault, and the breaches rendered practicable, the Marquis d'Alegre, the Governor, ordered a parley to be beat: hostages were immediately exchanged; on the sixteenth the capitulation was signed; and in three days the garrison evacuated the place, in order to be conducted to Luxemburgh. During the siege of Bonne, the

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Mareschals Boufflers and Villeroy advanced with an army of forty thousand men towards Tongeren, and the confederate army, commanded by M. D'Auverquerque was obliged at their approach to retreat under the cannon of Maestrich. The enemy having taken possession of Tongeren, made a motion against the confederate army, which they found already drawn up in order of battle, and so advantageously posted, that notwithstanding their great superiority in point of number, they would not hazard an attack; but retired to the ground from whence they had advanced. Immediately after the reduction of Bonne, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been present at the siege, returned to the confederate army in the Netherlands, now amounting to one hundred and thirty squadrons, and fifty-nine battalions. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the Duke having passed the river Jecker, in order to give battle to the enemy, they marched with precipitation to Boekwern, and abandoned Tongeren, after having blown up the walls of the place with gunpowder. The Duke continued to follow them to Thys, where he encamped, while they retreated to Hannye, retiring as he advanced. Then he resolved to force their lines: this service was effectually performed by Coehorn, at the point of Callo, and by Baron Spaar, in the county of Waes, near Stoken. * The Duke had formed the design of reducing Antwerp, which was garrisoned by Spanish troops, under the command of the Marquis de Bedmar. He intended with the grand army to attack the enemy's lines on the side of Louvaine and Mechlin: he detached Coehorn with his flying camp to the right of the Scheldt, towards Dutch Flanders, to amuse the Marquis de Bedmar on that side; and he ordered the Baron Opdam, with twelve thousand men, to take post between Eckeren and Capelle, near Antwerp, that he might act against that part of the lines which was guarded by the Spanish forces.

§ XXXVIII.

§ XXXVIII. The French Generals, in order to frustrate the scheme of Marlborough, resolved to cut off the retreat of Opdam. Boufflers with a detachment of twenty thousand men from Villeroy's army, surprized him at Eckeren, where the Dutch were put in disorder; and Opdam, believing all was lost, fled to Breda. Nevertheless, the troops rallying under General Schlangenburgh, maintained their ground with the most obstinate valour, till night, when the enemy was obliged to retire, and left the communication free with fort Lillo, to which place the Confederates marched without further molestation, having lost about fifteen hundred men in the engagement. The damage sustained by the French was more considerable. They were frustrated in their design, and had actually abandoned the field of battle: yet Louis ordered *Te Deum* to be sung for the victory: nevertheless, Boufflers was censured for his conduct on this occasion, and in a little time, totally disgraced. Opdam presented a justification of his conduct to the States-General: but by this oversight he forfeited the fruits of a long service, during which he had exhibited repeated proofs of courage, zeal, and capacity. The States honoured Schlangenburgh with a letter of thanks for the valour and skill he had manifested in this engagement: but in a little time they dismissed him from his employment, on account of his having given umbrage to the Duke of Marlborough, by censuring his Grace for exposing such a small number of men to this disaster. After this action, Villeroy, who lay encamped near St. Job, declared he would wait for the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith advanced to Hoogstraat, with a view to give him battle: but, at his approach, the French General, setting fire to his camp, retired within his lines with great precipitation. Then the Duke invested Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on the twenty-seventh day

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day of August. At a council of war held in the camp of the Confederates, the Duke proposed to attack the enemies' lines between the Mehaigne and Leuwe, and was seconded by the Danish, Hanoverian, and Hessian Generals: but the scheme was opposed by the Dutch officers; and the deputies of the States, who alledged that the success was dubious, and the consequences of forcing the lines would be inconsiderable: they therefore recommended the siege of Limburg, by the reduction of which they would acquire a whole province, and cover their own country, as well as Juliers and Gueldres, from the designs of the enemy. The siege of Limburg was accordingly undertaken. The trenches were opened on the five-and-twentieth day of September, and in two days the place was surrendered; the garrison remaining prisoners of war. By this conquest the Allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologn, from the incursions of the enemy: before the end of the year, they remained masters of the whole Spanish Guelderland, by the reduction of Gueldres, which surrendered on the seventeenth day of September, after having been long blockaded, bombarded, and reduced to a heap of ashes by the Prussian General, Lottum. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which in all probability would have produced events of greater importance, had not the Duke of Marlborough been restricted by the deputies of the States-General, who began to be influenced by the intrigues of the Louvestein faction, ever averse to a single dictator.

§ XXXIX. The French King redoubled his efforts in Germany. The Duke of Vendome was ordered to march from the Milanese to Tyrol, and there join the Elector of Bavaria, who had already made himself master of Inspruck. But the boors rising in arms, drove him out of the country before he could be joined by the French General, who was, therefore, obliged to return to the Milanese. The Imperialists

Imperialists in Italy were so ill supplied by the Court of Vienna, that they could not pretend to act offensively. The French invested Ostiglia, which, however, they could not reduce: but the fortress of Barsillo, in the duchy of Reggio, capitulating after a long blockade, they took possession of the Duke of Modena's country. The Elector of Bavaria rejoining Villars, resolved to attack Count Stirum, whom Prince Louis of Baden had detached from his army. With this view, they passed the Danube at Donawert, and discharged six guns, as a signal for the Marquis D'Usson, whom they had left in the camp at Lavingen, to fall upon the rear of the Imperialists, while they should charge them in front. Stirum no sooner perceived the signal, than he guessed the intention of the enemy, and instantly resolved to attack D'Usson before the Elector and the Mareschal should advance. He accordingly charged him at the head of some select squadrons, with such impetuosity, that the French cavalry were totally defeated; and all his infantry would have been killed and taken, had not the Elector and Villars come up in time to turn the fate of the day. The action continued from six in the morning till four in the afternoon, when Stirum being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat to Norlingen, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and all his baggage and artillery. In the mean time the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Tallard, undertook the siege of Old Brisac, with a prodigious train of artillery. The place was very strongly fortified, though the garrison was small, and ill provided with necessaries. In fourteen days, the Governor surrendered the place, and was condemned to lose his head, for having made such a slender defence. The Duke of Burgundy returned in triumph to Versailles, and Tallard was ordered to invest Landau. The Prince of Hesse-Cassel being detached from the Netherlands, for the relief of the place, joined the Count of Nassau-Weilbourg,

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bourg, General of the Palatine forces, near Spires, where they resolved to attack the French in their lines. But by this time Mons. Pracontal, with ten thousand men, had joined Tallard, and enabled him to strike a stroke which proved decisive. He suddenly quitted his lines, and surprised the Prince at Spirebach, where the French obtained a complete victory, after a very obstinate and bloody engagement, in which the Prince of Hesse distinguished himself by uncommon marks of courage and presence of mind. Three horses were successively killed under him, and he slew a French officer with his own hand. After incredible efforts, he was fain to retreat with the loss of some thousands. The French paid dear for their victory, Pracontal having been slain in the action. Nevertheless, they resumed the siege, and the place was surrendered by capitulation. The campaign in Germany was finished with the reduction of Augsburg by the Elector of Bavaria, who took it in the month of December, and agreed to its being secured by a French garrison.

§ XL. The Emperor's affair at this juncture wore a very unpromising aspect. The Hungarians were fleeced, and barbarously oppressed, by those to whom he entrusted the government of their country. They derived courage from despair. They seized this opportunity, when the Emperor's forces were divided, and his councils distracted, to exert themselves in defence of their liberties. They ran to arms, under the auspices of Prince Ragotzki. They demanded that their grievances should be redressed, and their privileges restored. Their resentment was kept up by the emissaries of France and Bavaria, who likewise encouraged them to persevere in their revolt, by repeated promises of protection and assistance. The Emperor's prospect, however, was soon mended, by two incidents of very great consequence to his interest. The Duke of Savoy, foreseeing how much he should be exposed to the mercy of the French

French King, should that Monarch become master of the Milanese, engaged in a secret negociation with the Emperor, which, notwithstanding all his caution, was discovered by the Court of Versailles. Louis immediately ordered the Duke of Vendome to disarm the troops of Savoy that were in his army, to the number of two-and-twenty thousand men: to insist upon the Duke's putting him in possession of four considerable fortresses; and demand that the number of his troops should be reduced to the establishment stipulated in the treaty of 1696. The Duke, exasperated at these insults, ordered the French Ambassador, and several officers of the same nation, to be arrested. Louis endeavoured to intimidate him by a menacing letter, in which he gave him to understand, that since neither religion, honour, interests, nor alliances, had been able to influence his conduct, the Duke de Vendome should make known the intentions of the French Monarch, and allow him four-and-twenty hours to deliberate on the measures he should pursue. This letter was answered by a manifesto: in the mean time, the Duke concluded a treaty with the Court of Vienna; acknowledged the Archduke Charles as King of Spain; and sent Envoys to England and Holland. Queen Anne, knowing his importance, as well as his selfish disposition, assured him of her friendship and assistance; and both she and the States sent Ambassadors to Turin. He was immediately joined by a body of Imperial horse under Visconti, and afterwards by Count Staremberg, at the head of fifteen thousand men, with whom that General marched from the Modenese, in the worst season of the year, through an enemy's country, and roads that were deemed impassible. In vain the French forces harassed him in his march, and even surrounded him in many different places on the route: he surmounted all these difficulties with incredible courage and perseverance, and joined the Duke of Savoy at Canelli,

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so as to secure the country of Piedmont. The other incident which proved so favourable to the Imperial interest, was a treaty by which the King of Portugal acceded to the grand alliance. His ministry perceived, that should Spain be once united to the Crown of France, their Master would sit very insecure upon his throne. They were intimidated by the united fleets of the maritime powers, which maintained the empire of the sea; and they were allured by the splendour of a match between their Infanta and the Archduke Charles, to whom the Emperor and King of the Romans promised to transfer all their pretensions to the Spanish Crown. By this treaty, concluded at Lisbon, between the Emperor, the Queen of Great-Britain, the King of Portugal, and the States-General, it was stipulated, That King Charles should be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thousand soldiers, with a great supply of money, arms, and ammunition; and that he should be joined immediately upon his landing by an army of eight-and-twenty thousand Portuguese.

§ XLI. The Confederates reaped very little advantage from the naval operations of this summer. Sir George Rooke cruized in the Channel, in order to alarm the coast of France, and protect the trade of England. On the first day of July, Sir Cloudesley Shovel sailed from St. Helen's, with the combined squadrons of England and Holland; he directed his course to the Mediterranean, and being reduced to great difficulty by want of water, steered to Altea, on the coast of Valentia, where Brigadier Seymour landed, and encamped with five-and-twenty hundred marines. The Admiral published a short manifesto, signifying that he was not come to disturb, but to protect the good subjects of Spain, who would swear allegiance to their lawful Monarch, the Archduke Charles, and endeavour to shake off the yoke of France. This declaration produced

produced little or no effect; and the fleet being watered, Sir Cloudesley sailed to Leghorn. One design of this armament was to assist the Cevennois, who had in the course of the preceding year been persecuted into a revolt on account of religion, and implored the assistance of England and the States-General. The Admiral detached two ships into the gulf of Narbonne, with some refugees and French pilots, who had concerted signals with the Cevennois: but the Mareschal de Montrevil having received intimation of their design, took such measures as prevented all communication; and the English Captains having repeated their signals to no purpose; rejoined Sir Cloudesley at Leghorn. This Admiral, having renewed the peace with the piratical States of Barbary, returned to England, without having taken one effectual step for annoying the enemy, or attempted any thing that looked like the result of a concerted scheme for that purpose. The nation naturally murmured at the fruitless expedition, by which it had incurred such a considerable expence. The merchants complained that they were ill supplied with convoys. The ships of war were victualled with damaged provision; and every article of the marine being mismanaged, the blame fell upon those who acted as council to the Lord High-Admiral.

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§ XLII. Nor were the arms of England by sea much more successful in the West-Indies. Sir George Rooke, in the preceding year, had detached from the Mediterranean Captain Hovenden Walker, with six ships of the line and transports, having on board four regiments of soldiers, for the Leeward islands. Being joined at Antigua by some troops under Colonel Codrington, they made a descent upon the island of Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burned the town, ravaged the country, and reimbarked with precipitation, in consequence of a report that the French had landed nine hundred men

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men on the back of the island. They retired to Nevis, where they must have perished by famine, had not they been providentially relieved by Vice-Admiral Graydon, in his way to Jamaica. This officer had been sent out with three ships to succeed Benbow, and was convoyed about one hundred and fifty leagues by two other ships of the line. He had not sailed many days, when he fell in with part of the French squadron, commanded by Du Casse, on their return from the West-Indies, very foul, and richly laden. Captain Cleland, of the Montagu, engaged the sternmost; but he was called off by a signal from the Admiral, who proceeded on his voyage, without taking further notice of the enemy. When he arrived at Jamaica, he quarrelled with the principal planters of the island; and his ships beginning to be crazy, he resolved to return to England. He accordingly sailed through the gulf of Florida, with a view to attack the French at Placentia, in Newfoundland: but his ships were dispersed in a fog that lasted thirty days: and afterwards the council of war which he convoked, were of opinion that he could not attack the settlement with any prospect of success. At his return to England, the House of Lords, then sitting, set on foot an enquiry into his conduct. They presented an address to the Queen, desiring she would remove him from his employments; and he was accordingly dismissed. The only exploit that tended to distress the enemy was performed by Rear-Admiral Dilkes, who, in the month of July, sailed to the coast of France, with a small squadron; and in the neighbourhood of Granville, took or destroyed about forty ships and their convoy. Yet this damage was inconsiderable, when compared to that which the English navy sustained from the dreadful tempest that began to blow on the twenty-seventh day of November, accompanied with such flashes of lightning, and peals of thunder, as overwhelmed the whole

whole kingdom with consternation. The houses in London shook from their foundations, and some of them falling, buried the inhabitants in their ruins. The water overflowed several streets, and rose to a considerable height in Westminster-hall. London-bridge was almost choaked up with the wrecks of vessels that perished in the river. The loss sustained by the capital was computed at a million sterling; and the city of Bristol suffered to a prodigious amount; but the chief national damage fell upon the navy. Thirteen ships of war were lost, together with fifteen hundred seamen, including Rear Admiral Beaumont, who had been employed in observing the Dunkirk squadron, and was then at anchor in the Downs, where his ship foundered. This great loss, however, was repaired with incredible diligence, to the astonishment of all Europe. The Queen immediately issued orders for building a greater number of ships than that which had been destroyed, and she exercised her bounty for the relief of the shipwrecked seamen, and the widows of those who were drowned, in such a manner as endeared her to all her subjects.

§ XLIII. The Emperor having declared his second son Charles, King of Spain, that young Prince set out from Vienna to Holland, and at Dusseldorp was visited by the Duke of Marlborough, who in the name of his mistress, congratulated him upon his accession to the crown of Spain. Charles received him with the most obliging courtesy. In the course of their conversation, taking off his sword, he presented it to the English General, with a very gracious aspect, saying, in the French language, "I am not "ashamed to own myself a poor Prince. I possess "nothing but my cloak and sword; the latter may "be of use to your Grace; and I hope you will not "think it the worse for my wearing it one day." "On the contrary (replied the Duke) it will always

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"put me in mind of your Majesty's just right and "title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard "my life in making you the greatest Prince in "Christendom." This nobleman returned to England in October: and King Charles embarking for the same kingdom, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, arrived at Spithead on the twenty-sixth day of November. There he was received by the Dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor; and on the road he was met by Prince George of Denmark. The Queen's deportment towards him was equally noble and obliging; and he expressed the most profound respect and veneration for this illustrious Princess. He spoke but little; yet what he said was judicious: and he behaved with such politeness and affability as conciliated the affection of the English nobility. After having been magnificently entertained for three days, he returned to Portsmouth, from whence, on the fourth of January, he sailed for Portugal, with a great fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke, having on board a body of land-forces, under the Duke of Schomberg. When the Admiral had almost reached Cape Finisterre, he was driven back by a storm at Spithead, where he was obliged to remain till the middle of February. Then being favoured with a fair wind, he happily performed the voyage to Lisbon, where King Charles was received with great splendour, though the Court of Portugal was overspread with sorrow, excited by the death of the Infanta, whom the King of Spain intended to espouse. In Poland, all hope of peace seemed to vanish. The Cardinal-Primate, by the instigation of the Swedish King, whose army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Dantzick, assembled a Diet at Warsaw, which solemnly deposed Augustus, and declared the throne vacant. Their intention was so elect young Sobieski, son of their late Monarch,

narch, who resided at Breslau, in Silesia: but their scheme was anticipated by Augustus, who retired hastily into his Saxon dominions, and seizing Sobieski, with his brother, secured them as prisoners at Dresden. CHAP. VII. 1703.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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